

July 9, 1965

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

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might the efforts now being made in Congress to defeat the great principle set forth in *Baker v. Carr*.

The Dirksen amendment would permit one house of the State legislature to be based on factors other than population, without defining what those factors are. The other approach would be to withdraw jurisdiction of the court in reapportionment cases. The Dirksen amendment has been favorably reported out of subcommittees in the Senate, and hearings are being conducted in the House on a variety of proposals. Ninety-six Members of the House have offered 106 measures to reverse the decision in your case. The Patman amendment in the House is the same as the Dirksen amendment in the Senate—119 Members of the House have signed a discharge petition. Only 99 more signatures are required to bring it to the floor. There is a real possibility that one or the other measure could pass this Congress, although the contest will be close.

In my opinion the Dirksen amendment which would require a referendum in each State has a better chance than has the other approach of withdrawing jurisdiction from the Court. When the issue is finally submitted to the people I believe, in their wisdom, they will reject it. Those of us who are alert to what is at stake have a duty to wage the fight—to conserve, if you please, the idea of fair representation for every citizen in legislative bodies.

As a dying gasp, a number of malapportioned State legislatures have applied to Congress to call a constitutional convention. This could, as many point out, open a Pandora's box.

Yes, my theme tonight is "One Man, One Vote, One Nation, One Man." This is the concept which distinguishes our democracy. The rights, the character, the judgment, the behavior of each individual are important. The decisions and actions of individual men have won us our freedom.

It takes a certain amount of courage to be a party plaintiff in a case such as the one you here have successfully prosecuted. Many individuals just won't get on the firing line where a basic but controversial issue such as your case presented is involved.

One of the plaintiffs in the Georgia reapportionment case came to me before he decided to be a plaintiff. He is an actuary, a fine man, and the father of seven children. He sought my counsel as a lawyer and friend. He told me that he wanted very much to be a plaintiff in such a case but, he said, "I am doing a good bit of work for an insurance company headed by a man who is a chief beneficiary of our malapportioned legislature. What might be the consequences?" he asked.

I told him what most of us learn in politics. I said, "You have to assume that your head will be bloodied."

"In that case, if you put it that way," he replied, "I have no alternative but to serve as a plaintiff."

That was one man and there are, thank God, many such men and women in America. These plaintiffs, these lawyers, and all of you who are willing to stand up for the basic principles on which this country was founded are such individuals.

One vote: How can we deal in fractions when we talk about a man's vote? This one vote, this meaningful vote, is what distinguishes a freeman—an effective, responsible citizen.

The Supreme Court has stated a great principle—that every citizen shall be entitled to judicial relief if he can show that he is experiencing invidious discrimination in the structure of a legislative body. And in the Wesberry case the Court has said that districts must be as nearly the same in population as practicable.

One vote can be decisive in a popular election. One vote can be decisive in a legislature.

One man, one vote: If we are to build our Nation on a rock, what stronger rock could there be than this principle? One man, one vote.

And finally, let us have one nation, indivisible, under God, with liberty and justice for all.

Nearly two centuries ago Virginians played a dominant role in the shaping of our Federal system. They contributed to the federalist papers which so eloquently argued the case for one nation with its Federal-State-local approach to political problems and with its ingenious and time-tested system of checks and balances.

A century ago Americans resolved on the field of battle that every man, woman, and child should enjoy full citizenship.

And now we are approaching and entering our third century as a nation. To survive in this dangerous world we must be united as never before, and the idea that can unite us and which can make us invincible is to let the effective ballot of each citizen be the symbol of our political freedom.

When the Federal system was started we thought more of the movement of goods. Now we see as equally important the movement of people. Each American has a stake in the vitality of the ballot everywhere in our 50 States. Who knows? You and I may move to Seattle or Minneapolis. Or Georgians move to Virginia—or Virginians to Georgia.

In order to form a more perfect Union we need to establish the principle of one man, one vote. If we succeed then we will have one united nation.

Twenty-one years ago this past April, in the climactic months of World War II, I sailed out of this Norfolk Harbor on the destroyer escort *Menges* in company with some 80 ships bound for the Mediterranean. One of those ships was the *Alexander Hamilton* laden with 10,000 tons of TNT and 498 American servicemen. A German torpedo plane from southern France attacked our convoy and that ship was hit. On a lovely spring night, 498 American boys were incinerated in a pillar of flame which I can recall in my mind's eye as clearly as if this experience had occurred last night.

Shortly thereafter our ship was hit and 31 of my shipmates were killed. My executive officer and I viewed the bodies of our shipmates and sought to understand the meaning of their deaths.

The only meaning for us was the fact that these fine young men died so that you and I could have another chance to try and make the idea of representative government under law work. We are in their debt tonight as we sit here in this climate of freedom, in this comfortable hotel, in this prosperous city. And you and I have our work cut out for us.

The other night I walked up the steps to the Lincoln Memorial with visitors from Holland—a man and wife. The husband had experienced the cruelty of Hitler's occupation of his country.

We didn't have to say much. We got the message of Lincoln and of this country. Our form of government is the last best hope on earth. And we, the living, must see to it that there is a new birth of freedom in this country.

As I see it, this is the issue which we uphold when we work for fair representation in our State and National Legislatures.

I salute all of you in the Norfolk Committee for Fair Representation, and I urge you to keep up your good work. Let us defeat the effort to reverse the decision in your cases.

Let us uphold the idea of one man, one vote, one nation, with liberty and justice for all.

Fe (On) Church
MCGILL ON VIETNAM

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, Ralph McGill, the distinguished publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, has written an excellent article entitled "Vietnam Conditions Make Total Victory Impossible." The article was published recently in many newspapers.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. McGill's article, as published in the Lewiston, Idaho, Morning Tribune, be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

VIETNAM CONDITIONS MAKE TOTAL VICTORY IMPOSSIBLE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Ralph McGill is publisher of the Atlanta Constitution.)

(By Ralph McGill)

Republican voices demanding "total victory" in Vietnam arise out of intellectual and political dishonesty or willful ignorance of conditions that confronted the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations and that now are the problem of President Johnson. Very few fathers and mothers in this country would prefer "fighting on to total victory in Vietnam" to a negotiated agreement. Former President Eisenhower supports the President and asks there be no criticism of his policy. But Senator Goldwater and his clique are increasingly critical. They want more troops committed and a campaign fought through the jungles to the capital of North Vietnam. Mr. Goldwater does not want the President to have a voice. He demands the generals take charge.

To put a half million or more men in Vietnam and commit them to a long battle through the jungle and hill terrain to the northern border of Vietnam would be a form of madness.

It would be madness because, in a very real sense, there are no borders to Vietnam. The entire peninsula is the battleground. If all Vietnam were occupied there would then be guerrilla forces in Cambodia and Thailand and a larger number in Laos. There now is some guerrilla activity in north Thailand. Laos has been a battleground for years. Cambodia also is a potential storehouse for guerrilla activity.

"VICTORY" MEANINGLESS

Therefore, to "fight to victory" in Vietnam would be meaningless. The generals know this.

The Defense Department and the Chiefs of Staff alone know what the plans are. An observer may only speculate. There are two major speculative conclusions.

One is that the Chinese, and the Vietcong already know that if Chinese troops are committed, as they were in Korea, this country will not then fight a ground war, as in Korea, but will, of necessity, use whatever strategic nuclear weapons are necessary.

The second speculation is that there is a chance for negotiation and an agreement about neutralizing the southeast Asian peninsula. (We badly need a viable United Nations to assist in bringing off such a plan.)

The Soviets, one would assume, also know of our alternative should the Chinese come in. A further speculation, therefore, is that the Soviets have not exerted pressures on Ho Chi Minh to consider negotiations, and will not, until they can determine to their satisfaction what the political effect of such pressure would be in other Communist countries.

The Chinese have been trying to goad the Russians into direct and open aid to the Vietcong. But European Communist parties will not so wish.

DELAY UNDERSTANDABLE

Russian delay is understandable. It is not possible to believe they would like to see a nuclear war grow out of the Vietnam crisis. Ho Chi Minh, the Soviet-trained Communist leader of the Vietcong, can hardly wish the Chinese to destroy him and his hold on North Vietnam by pushing the conflict to the point where the United States cannot do other than employ the alternative weapon. The Soviets, one can assume, wait for a negotiated peace pressure to grow before exerting pressure.

American public opinion will want negotiations rather than the astonishingly bloody demand of the Republican right wing that we fight into and occupy North Vietnam for a "total victory." Vietnam is but one slender slice of a peninsula problem. Nor are Americans ready to abolish the American Constitution which established civilian control and makes the President of the Nation the Commander in Chief.

It is not surprising that reliable polls register strong public support of President Johnson's position and his decisions.

Vietnam is an ugly, distressing business. No one is comfortable about it. There is no ready answer. Total war assuredly is not it.

TRIBUTE TO JOHN W. MACY BY THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, as I have noted before on the floor of the Senate, President Johnson has done an excellent job in finding qualified persons to fill high Federal positions, both from within the governmental service and from the outside. The highly able Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, John W. Macy Jr., has been very helpful to President Johnson in his talent hunt. Recently, the New York Times published an article, written by Charles Mohr, which gave a good account of Mr. Macy's activities and abilities. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, June 28, 1965]

CIVIL SERVICE CHIEF WIELDS POWER AS JOHNSON'S TALENT SCOUT (By Charles Mohr)

WASHINGTON, June 27.—Historically, the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission has not been notably important in the Washington power structure.

But under Lyndon B. Johnson the current Chairman, John W. Macy Jr., has become a major power at the White House. He has the large responsibility of helping Mr. Johnson fill such sensitive posts as the chairmanship of the Federal Power Commission, from which Joseph C. Swidler has announced he is resigning.

Since last November Mr. Macy has served as President Johnson's chief talent scout for major appointments. The President has also given him increasing and improving the whole structure of Federal employment and administration.

It seems ironic to some that Mr. Johnson, a consummate politician, has caused a decline in the patronage power of the Democratic National Committee, and of politicians in general, and has turned increasingly to the apolitical sort of men Mr. Macy favors.

Together the two men have given the administration a distinctive coloration. It is one of primarily merit appointments, almost half of them promotions from the ranks of civil servants. There has been a conscious effort to exalt Government service as a lifetime profession and to look first among career men when a major job is open.

THE BLUE NOTEBOOK

Mr. Johnson is acutely aware that he will be judged as a President partly by the appointments he makes.

The President has Mr. Macy keep up to date a blue-covered notebook detailing all of the major appointments Mr. Johnson has made since November 23, 1963, the first full day of his Presidency.

It shows that Mr. Johnson has made more than 280 major appointments, including 34 to the Federal bench. A total of 183 of these were to full-time, nonjudicial jobs. Some of the others went to posts on important but not full-time commissions and committees.

If judges are excluded, 48 percent of the appointees were chosen from the ranks of Government service. The other appointments were shared almost equally among three groups—lawyers, labor and industry, and universities.

Mr. Macy has helped the President make most of these appointments. In most cases, he has, in the end, given the President three or four suggested names for a job, along with an evaluation of each man. Mr. Johnson does the choosing, but he is the first to say that Mr. Macy has considerable influence.

"I am fond of him as a person," says Mr. Johnson.

The Macy-Johnson friendship began when Mr. Johnson, as Vice President, was Chairman of the Committee on Equal Opportunity in Federal Hiring. It is apparent that, at a time when Mr. Johnson often felt slighted by some officials of the Kennedy administration, he got courteous and friendly help from Mr. Macy.

"Nobody gives a damn about the Vice President," Mr. Johnson says wryly, "but John Macy worked very conscientiously with me on the Equal Opportunity Committee. He even worked at night."

Mr. Macy, 48 years old, has an almost boyishly youthful air despite a head of gray hair clipped into a crew cut. In Government since 1938, he served as a personnel expert for both the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of the Army before becoming Executive Director—the top career post—in the Civil Service Commission in 1953.

From 1958 until 1961 he was executive vice president of Wesleyan University, his alma mater.

AN ORGANIZED MIND

Mr. Macy has a precise and highly organized mind and applies himself to his extracurricular White House duties in a precise way. He has put together a file of about 20,000 names of persons who have expressed interest in Government service or have been recommended by a wide range of figures in private life.

The file often puts Mr. Macy on the track of men to fill a job vacancy. But the search really begins with a studious examination of the vacant job itself.

Mr. Macy usually writes a "job profile," outlining the qualities and experience needed or most desirable in the job. This profile, which is also studied by Mr. Johnson in many cases, makes the search easier by making clear what it is they are looking for. Finally, as the search narrows, Mr. Macy handles all details.

If warranted, he checks with the Democratic National Committee on political aspects of the appointment (but the importance of this has clearly waned), gathers

opinion on candidates and finally gives the President concise evaluations of the reputations of the contenders.

SELECTION OF ENVOYS

Mr. Macy sits in on State Department meetings regarding ambassadorial appointments, and plays a role in this field. Because Mr. Johnson believes in executive compatibility, Cabinet secretaries have great latitude in picking assistant and deputy secretaries, but Mr. Macy is also in on this.

A job like this never ends. Mr. Macy believes there will always be a minimum of about a half-dozen vacancies. At present there are no more than that.

The Treasury Department needs a general counsel, the Community Relations Service needs a director, and one assistant secretary slot is open at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Several appointments to Government agencies expire this month, giving Mr. Johnson the option of reappointing men or looking for new ones. The most important of these cases was that of Mr. Swidler, whose term officially ended last Tuesday.

STANDARDS OF CONDUCT

In addition to screening and suggesting appointees, Mr. Macy is engaged in even more fundamental tasks. He has already codified and clarified directives on standards of ethical conduct for Government employees and will be the depositor for financial statements by top policymakers and a sort of court of appeal on ethics and conflict-of-interest cases.

He is making the first full-scale study and inventory of some 500 to 600 middle-level policymaking jobs in Government. He is perhaps the most important administration adviser on such questions as Federal pay scales, personnel use, and like matters.

President Johnson recently remarked that he had accepted about 90 percent of Mr. Macy's suggestions in the job field and sent about 10 percent back for further study and reexamination, ultimately accepting some of them.

In the game of advising Presidents that's an impressive batting average indeed.

SALUTE TO THE NATION

Mr. HART. Mr. President, this year marks the 100th anniversary of the Nation magazine, a journal of social and political comment that has somehow survived since 1865, despite a marked disinclination to cater to advertisers or to respect the tenets of conventional editorial wisdom.

The Nation has achieved the remarkable ability to take issues seriously, without taking itself too seriously. Any publication that marks a centennial anniversary must be naturally inclined toward self-congratulation.

But the one virtue in which the Nation has taken the greatest pride is honesty; and the best proof of this honesty, curiously enough, can be found in the material the magazine has sent around, to mark its own birthday.

For example, the handout unpompously notes the remark of its editor after the first issue was put to bed:

No. 1 is afloat; and the tranquillity that still reigns in this city, under the circumstances, I confess amazes me.

The release notes that after the third issue, the elated editor declared:

We have so much money, that I don't think we can fail, unless by stupendous mismanagement.

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In any case, what was behind this reversal? It cannot be explained in terms of shifts to a higher level of utilization of capacity in Western Europe and in Japan as compared with the United States. The fact is that we are all operating at high levels of capacity utilization. Nor can it be explained in terms of having guidelines or not having guidelines. The fact is: Western Europe has had guidelines all along. What then accounts for the difference? Guidelines or not, the fact is that a change came about in Western Europe and in Japan in the early 1960's in the relation between annual labor cost increases and annual productivity improvements. They began to produce an unfavorable gap between the two just as we began to eliminate ours. Beginning in 1960, and accelerating in 1962 and 1963, labor cost per unit of output began to rise, putting a strong upward pressure on prices.

Italy provides perhaps the clearest example. In 1960 and 1961, labor costs per unit of output were actually lower by nearly 10 percent than they had been in 1958 and 1959. This reflected the fact that hourly labor cost increases had been held well within the limits of productivity improvements. But in 1962 and 1963 hourly labor costs rose by close to 15 percent a year. I have no data on Italy's rate of annual productivity improvement, but it is hard for me to believe that it exceeded 7 or 8 percent, though owing to the special circumstances and stage of development of the Italian economy it is possible that this high rate may have been achieved. In any case, the excess of labor cost increases over productivity gains in 1962 and 1963 was so great that prices increased by about 8 percent in each of these 2 years. This was possible, obviously, only because—in the face of an egregious imbalance between labor cost increases and productivity improvements—monetary and fiscal policy continued to be easy, in the style, if I may say so, of the "new economics."

Of course, this inflationary process could not be permitted to go on indefinitely. Before very long the inflation of costs and prices required that stabilization programs be launched in every one of the Western European economies. You know the history of this as well as I do; and you know that these stabilization programs, essential as they are to the long-term health of the economies involved, have been carried out only at the expense of a slowing down of growth rates. Italy has had a kind of stabilization recession; France has suffered a pause in its growth; and so have nearly all the other Western European continental economies. Only the United Kingdom, on that side of the world, continues in a state of total domestic prosperity and vigorous expansion, but it is caught in a still-unresolved international financial predicament. I leave it to you to sort out cause and effect in this coincidence.

The hour is late and, because I want to say something about the economic outlook before I finish, I will spare you an account of Japan's recent economic history. Our friends there did not invent the term "new economics" but they did give us the word "overheating," which will assuredly find its place in the same general area of the economic thesaurus. And I must say that the Japanese have demonstrated some of the more spectacular dangers of monetary and fiscal expansionism persisted in side by side with cost inflation.

If we are of a mind to do so, we can learn a good deal from these experiences of other countries. In many ways their most instructive value is to show us what heavy doses of the new economics, applied when fiscal and monetary restraint not expansion is called for, can do to the institutional

framework of a society. Here I want to make two points:

First, you will observe that indicative planning, as it is called, did not prevent inflation in Western Europe. I hope its admirers in this country will take note of that fact. Second, you will observe that monetary and fiscal expansionism, in the mode of the so-called new economics, has led almost everywhere abroad to incomes policies which, becoming increasingly specific and mandatory and reaching far into the area of price and nonwage income determination, are having a profound effect on market institutions. There is a real danger that, in the end, an incomes policy will prove to be only a euphemism for a system of broad market controls. And the more determined the application of monetary and fiscal expansionism, the more determined, that is, the application of the new economics, the greater is that danger.

There was no disposition to court this risk in the 1950's. Our paramount object was to achieve the purposes of the Employment Act within the framework of an enterprise system and of a labor market with maximum freedom. The guiding concept was the concept of a free society. Fiscal responsibility was, and remains, an essential means to this end.

I have no wish to diminish your estimate of what a prudently expansive fiscal and monetary policy can do to promote vigorous and stable economic growth, and incidentally, to ease the task of the financial analyst. My object is only to argue the case that such a policy is possible only when a balance is maintained between cost increases and productivity improvements, and that it can be carried to excess, even then. If you conclude from this that there is less that is new in the new economics than its enthusiasts seem to believe, and more that is contingent and risky, then I will have made my point on the doctrinal question.

In commenting on the near-term business outlook, let me refer first to economic conditions abroad. To a considerable extent, such uneasiness as is felt nowadays about the economic outlook—and it must be conceded that some uneasiness does exist—derives from a concern about prospects abroad.

Briefly, I feel reasonably confident that the pause in growth that continental Western European countries have experienced recently has about ended and that a resumption of expansion can be expected this year. And I see no reason why expansion should not continue in 1966. The pause was induced by stabilization programs launched to gain some mastery over cost inflation and a too-rapid expansion of credit. But the restraints are being relaxed almost everywhere on the continent now, and underlying demand is so strong that the response should be favorable. If there is a fly in the ointment, it is that the stabilization plans have been less than completely successful in closing the gap between labor cost increases and productivity gains. Increases in employment costs are still excessive. Accordingly, I expect to see cost and price inflation continue there, perhaps in the neighborhood of 3 percent a year, though hopefully not more.

Great Britain is a special case. There are those who regard the Labor government's stabilization measures as inadequate to correct the country's international economic and financial imbalance; but others say that the credit squeeze is very tight, and that it may well prove by fall or winter, to be more restrictive than is needed. Basically, the question is whether the British will be able to survive their pursuit of fiscal and monetary expansionism, from which they are retiring only very reluctantly, without devaluing their currency. I do not expect devaluation this year; whether it will come in 1966 is still

a moot question but hopefully it will be avoided altogether. In any case, what seems most likely to me in that Great Britain's international financial problems will be dealt with in the context of a general resetting of the international monetary system, rather than by unilateral action. In the meantime, I am afraid the British situation will continue to be a source of uncertainty and of some deflationary pressure for other economies.

In the Japanese economy, industrial production has been broadly flat for almost a year now and I expect this condition to continue for a time. There has been, as you know, a very rapid expansion of credit in Japan, and this has had a serious effect on the nation's investment market. But the impact of Japan's experiment in monetary and fiscal expansion has so far been limited mainly to its own economy and I do not expect to see the impact magnified, or to see it spread internationally, in the months ahead.

Turning now to our own economy—and putting aside small month-to-month changes some of which are up and some down—I think we can say that the picture depicted by our business cycle indicators is still a reasonably good one. There is distinctly more diversity in it than there was a month or two ago; but, apart from the stock market, the indicators are in reasonably good shape. There are signs, however, that certain of the qualities of balance that have characterized the expansion to date are being lost. I hope I may cite these without seeming to be raising unwarranted alarms, or of being somehow counterproductive.

First, there seems to have been some slipping away from the close approximation to balance that we have enjoyed in recent years in the relation between labor cost increases and productivity improvements. For the private economy as a whole, and for the year 1964 as a whole, the gap widened a bit. Certainly, some of the major settlements reached in the latter part of 1964, and to date in 1965, have been moving in the direction of imbalance.

Second, prices have started to move up. The rate of increase of the consumer price index, which is slow to move in any case, has not changed greatly; it continues to rise at about 1 to 1½ percent a year. But after a long period of absolute stability, the wholesale price index has been moving up in recent months and the index of prices of industrial materials has moved up sharply. The last mentioned index rose 15 percent in the 12 months ending June 1965, as compared with 8 percent in the previous 12 months and with a decline of 2 percent in the 12 months before that.

Cost push cannot be exonerated entirely from these price increases but pressure on production facilities from the side of demand has also been heavy. Indeed, I have the distinct impression that demand pressure has been more important than the push of costs. In part, this is due to the rapid upsurge in credit which we have seen in the past few months. Accordingly, I attach special importance at this time to monetary policy.

It is not easy to find just that degree of credit restraint which, without wrenching the economy, will get us back onto a sustainable rate of credit expansion. There is danger in putting the brakes on too hard; but our monetary authorities know this danger very well. There is also danger, however, in staying too long with a rapid credit expansion, which is a mistake to which fiscal and monetary expansionists are distinctly prone. It is the job of money policy—and a highly unpopular one it is at a time like this—to prevent our running afoul of either of these hazards. To date, monetary policy

has moved in what I regard as the indicated direction. I have no quarrel with it, and I trust that the expansionists will not insist in this instance on making their characteristic mistake of carrying things too far.

What happens in the area of fiscal policy is also critical. Now, you and I know that there is room in our economy when it is operating at a high pitch and growing at a good rate for a combination of tax reduction and expenditure increase adding up, certainly, to \$5 billion a year and possibly to as much as \$7 billion. But you and I know, too, that if the Federal Government chooses to go beyond that at a time of high activity, and when the private sector of the economy is pushing on with its own species of deficit financing, then we not only risk the danger of overheating our economy but of impairing the Government's capability for taking constructive countermeasures in the event of a setback. What we need to do is to hold the total of tax reductions and expenditure increases well within the limits of the revenue increases we can expect from our economy's growth. The effect would be to move our Federal budgetary accounts closer to balance. I must tell you that I do not see as much evidence of a readiness to do this as I would like to see.

If we are guided by these broad principles of financial prudence, and if labor cost increases are kept well within the limits of productivity gains, I see no reason why the expansion cannot go on indefinitely. As I have had occasion to say before, the secret is to avoid spurts and surges and not to push the economy too hard. It is plain from the figures that we have already had something of a spurt. I think our whole economy would have been better off without it; and I think that the market would be behaving better than it has been if we hadn't had it. But now I expect to see us settle down to a more sedate pace. If this is the way our economy goes, as I expect it will, then the stock market is currently underestimating the strength and the growth capabilities of the American economy, and that is precisely what I think it is doing.

Free Mailing Privileges
**FREE MAILING PRIVILEGES FOR
 U.S. PERSONNEL IN SOUTH VIET-
 NAM**

(Mr. BOB WILSON (at the request of Mr. DEL CLAWSON) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, as Members of this House well know, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States is one of the most effective and consistent spokesman for the man in uniform.

Another example of how they help look after the interests of our fighting men has recently come to my attention. Their commander in chief, John A. Jenkins, Birmingham, Ala., has written to the President of the United States, urging free mailing privileges for all U.S. military personnel in South Vietnam.

It should be emphasized that this fair and practical recommendation was a result of "Buck" Jenkins personally going to South Vietnam and visiting our troops in the combat areas. He went to the fighting fronts in the forested mountains along the Cambodian frontier, to the embattled base at Danang, and to the marine beachhead at Chulai. He saw

what was needed to help the troops, and came up with a practical solution.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the press release by VFW Commander in Chief Jenkins, dated June 17, 1965, which, in turn, contains his letter to the President:

**VFW URGES FREE MAILING PRIVILEGE FOR
 U.S. PERSONNEL IN SOUTH VIETNAM**

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 17, 1965.—Free mailing privileges for U.S. military men was urged today by the national commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Mr. John A. Jenkins, Birmingham, Ala.

Commander Jenkins made the recommendation in a personal telegram to President Johnson. The VFW official, just returned from an extensive trip to the fighting fronts in South Vietnam, said he had an opportunity to personally observe the conditions under which U.S. military personnel are living and fighting.

Explaining his recommendation, Commander Jenkins said: "Fighting the Communist aggressors in South Vietnam is a full-time, around-the-clock job. This is a war in South Vietnam and it doesn't make sense that our fighting men should be unnecessarily burdened by having to travel to a postal branch, line up to buy stamps, which it is impossible for them to keep in usable condition when they return to their battle positions in rains, mud, and sand."

The text of VFW Commander Jenkins' telegram to President Johnson follows:

**THE PRESIDENT,
 The White House,
 Washington, D.C.:**

During my recent trip to South Vietnam, I was fortunate to be able to visit our fighting men in various parts of that embattled country. I can report to you, Mr. President, that our fighting men are performing their duty with a dedication, loyalty, and degree of efficiency that has historically been the hallmark of those in our Armed Forces. As a result of my visits to fighting fronts in South Vietnam, I take this opportunity to respectfully recommend that free mailing privileges be authorized to all those in our Armed Forces in South Vietnam. On the basis of my personal observations, I am convinced that it is an unnecessary burden for men engaged in a life and death conflict to have to travel to a postal branch, line up for stamps, and then go back to their combat assignments. It is impossible for our troops living, for instance, in primitive conditions of the mountainous frontier, and in the deep and drifting sands of the Chu Lai beachhead to keep their postage stamps in a usable condition until they have time to write to their loved ones at home. It is also respectfully submitted, Mr. President, that in the long run the granting of free mailing privileges to our forces in South Vietnam would prove to be an economical step. The merchandising of stamps and maintenance of even rudimentary postal facilities seems to be an unnecessary expenditure under the existing circumstances. Hoping that this recommendation merits your favorable consideration, I am,

Respectfully,

**JOHN A. JENKINS,
 Commander in Chief, VFW.**

(Mr. MORSE (at the request of Mr. DEL CLAWSON) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. MORSE'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

**RESIDUAL OIL RELIEF NEAR?—
 STATEMENT DETAILS NEED**

(Mr. CLEVELAND (at the request of Mr. DEL CLAWSON) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, the residual oil import problem continues to afflict the consumers of the Northeast. Hopefully, a solution is near. Last week, Members of Congress from every New England State and New York met with Director Buford Ellington, of the Office of Emergency Planning, who is one of the President's key advisers on oil import policy. We expressed ourselves in clear terms, calling for an early decision, which Mr. Ellington said he would try to achieve. The delegation's informal chairman was the distinguished gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY] and, it is encouraging to record, we also were specifically authorized to express his wholehearted endorsement of our position by the Speaker of the House.

This time, it is hoped that the Northeast will be able to muster enough strength to overcome the power of the coal and oil interests, which blocked relaxation of residual oil imports last March. They did this by exerting their influence at the White House so that the Secretary of the Interior himself was overruled on the eve of announcing plans to grant a substantial measure of relief.

As we await a new decision, it is timely to consider the underlying facts and I offer for this purpose the text of a frank, short address by Mr. John K. Evans, executive director of the Independent Fuel Oil Marketers of America, Inc. He delivered it with considerable courage last month at the annual convention of the National Coal Association in Chicago. This is an excellent summary of the residual oil question and I urge my colleagues to read it:

STATEMENT BY MR. JOHN K. EVANS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, INDEPENDENT FUEL OIL MARKETERS OF AMERICA, INC., WASHINGTON, D.C., AT 48TH ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL COAL ASSOCIATION IN CHICAGO

My name is Jack Evans, I am executive director of Independent Fuel Oil Marketers of America, Inc., of Washington, D.C. I have spent over three decades in the international oil business, most of that time with the Royal Dutch Shell group and for the past 4 years I have had my own consulting office in Washington. Among my clients are members of the association whose stand and interests are the reason for my being here today.

When I told Don Sullivan that I was born in Wales he told me I was a traitor to my Welsh heritage. My reply to Don was that I was from North Wales where they have no coal and where the only natural resource is rocks. When I told my friends I was going to stick my head into the lion's head they told me I must have rocks in my head. The Welsh are a stubborn race and like to crusade for lost causes but I am sure I don't have to tell this audience about the Welsh because they have had plenty of contact with John L. Lewis and other far more eloquent representatives of the Welsh race than I ever could be.

I fully realize that this is a kangaroo court but I welcome this opportunity of

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HIGHER EDUCATION IN TRANSITION

Vice Chairman: Mrs. Mary I. Bunting, president, Radcliffe College.
Summary writer: John Chaffee, Jr., education editor, Boston Herald & Traveler.

RESEARCH AND GRADUATION EDUCATION

(2 p.m. Tuesday, panel discussion 8-A)
Chairman: Mrs. Mary I. Bunting.
Consultant: John Walsh, news department, Science magazine, Washington.
Questioner: Neal O. Hines, assistant director, Committee on Governmental Relations, Washington.

Panelists: Hubert Heffner, associate provost, Stanford University; Logan Wilson, president, American Council on Education; Harry Ransom, chancellor, University of Texas; James Shannon, director, National Institutes of Health; Leland Haworth, director, National Science Foundation.

UNDERGRADUATE EDUCATION

(10:15 a.m. Wednesday, panel discussion 8-B)
Chairman: Mrs. Mary I. Bunting.
Consultant: Donald R. McNeil, special assistant to the president, University of Wisconsin.

Questioner: Harry D. Gideonse, president, Brooklyn College.

Panelists: Samuel M. Nabrit, president, Texas Southern University; Barnaby A. Keeney, president, Brown University; R. Nevitt Sanford, director, Institute for the Study of Human Problems, Stanford University; George Shuster, assistant to the president, Notre Dame University; Stephen Robbins, president, U.S. National Student Association.

EDUCATION IN THE URBAN COMMUNITY

Vice chairman: Sidney Marland, Jr., superintendent of schools, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Summary writer: Oscar Jaeger, International Union of Electrical Workers, Washington.

COMMUNITY EXTENSION

(2 p.m., Tuesday, panel discussion 9-A)
Chairman: Sidney Marland, Jr.
Consultant: Roald Campbell, dean, Graduate School of Education, University of Chicago.
Questioner: Edward C. Banfield, professor of urban government, Harvard.
Panelists: Russell I. Thackrey, executive secretary, Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges; Robert B. Binswanger, executive director, the Pace Association, Cleveland, Ohio; Fred H. Harrington, president, University of Wisconsin; Walter M. Garcia, president, Modesto Junior College, Modesto, Calif.; Paul J. Misner, superintendent of schools, Glencoe, Ill.

CAN URBAN SCHOOLS BE MANAGED?

(10:15 a.m., Wednesday, panel discussion, 9-B)

Chairman: Sidney Marland, Jr.
Consultant: H. Thomas James, professor of education, Stanford University.
Questioner: Philip M. Hauser, professor of sociology, University of Chicago.

Panelists: Samuel M. Brownell, superintendent of schools, Detroit; Melvin Barnes, superintendent of schools, Portland; James Stratten, member, board of education, San Francisco; David Selden, assistant to the president, American Federation of Teachers, Chicago; T. Joseph McCook, superintendent of schools, Springfield, Mass.

Mr. Speaker, the Vice Chairmen at Large of the Conference are: James B. Conant, president emeritus, Harvard University; Hon. Edmund G. Brown, Governor of California; Hon. John B. Connally, Governor of Texas; Hon. Richard J. Hughes, Governor of New

Jersey; and Hon. John H. Reed, Governor of Maine.

The Conference Director is Mr. Lyle M. Nelson.

Members of the host committee for the Conference are as follows:

CABINET

Hon. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State.
Hon. Henry H. Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury.

Hon. Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense.

Hon. Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Attorney General.

Hon. John A. Gronouski, Postmaster General.

Hon. Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior.

Hon. Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture.

Hon. John T. Connor, Secretary of Commerce.

Hon. W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor.

Hon. Anthony J. Celebrezze, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

EXECUTIVE

Hon. Charles L. Schultze, Director, Bureau of the Budget.

Hon. Gardner Ackley, Council of Economic Advisers.

Hon. Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., Director, Office of Economic Opportunity.

Hon. Buford Ellington, Director, Office of Emergency Planning.

Hon. Donald F. Hornig, Director, Office of Science and Technology.

INDEPENDENT AGENCIES

Hon. William G. Colman, Executive Director, Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

Hon. William J. Driver, Administrator of Veterans Affairs.

Hon. Milton Eisenhower, Chairman, Commission on Presidential Scholars.

Hon. John A. Hannah, Chairman, Commission on Civil Rights.

Hon. Leland J. Haworth, Director, National Science Foundation.

Hon. E. William Henry, Chairman, Federal Communications Commission.

Hon. Lewis B. Hershey, Director, Selective Service System.

Hon. John W. Macy, Jr., Chairman, Civil Service Commission.

Hon. S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

Hon. David Rockefeller, Chairman, President's Commission on White House Fellows.

Hon. Carl T. Rowan, Director, U.S. Information Agency.

Hon. Harold Russell, Chairman, President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped.

Hon. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission.

Hon. Frederick Seitz, President, National Academy of Sciences and National Research Council.

Hon. William Walton, Chairman, Commission of Fine Arts.

Hon. Robert C. Weaver, Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Hon. James E. Webb, Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

A CITATION FOR MORRIS DOUGLAS JAFFE

(Mr. PATMAN was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, St. Mary's University in San Antonio, Tex., recently conferred on Mr. Morris Douglas Jaffe, also of that city, the degree of doctor of laws, honoris causa. The citation which accompanied this award was to me particularly inspirational and heartwarming, since it portrays a constructive business career, a wholesome home environment, and conspicuous public service, the combination of which is distinctively American.

The citation follows:

CITATION

Men of vision and particularly businessmen in the modern competitive world agree that economic and accompanying social changes are continually evolving. They also recognize that the inquiring mind supported by an adventuresome spirit forges, searches out, and even helps bring about these changes, for nothing in life is static.

Tonight, on the occasion of the 113th annual commencement, St. Mary's University honors one of its former students, Morris Douglas Jaffe, whose qualities of leadership and whose semi-intuitive skill in interpreting the emerging patterns of business have enabled him to make significant contributions to the economic well-being of society.

The successful management of modern business, as illustrated in the career of Morris Jaffe, requires some familiarity with the more relevant branches of history and philosophy, some knowledge of mathematics, of the social sciences, particularly economics and political science. This indispensable liberal education, whether formal or self-acquired, contributes to a flexibility of mind and helps develop a sense of responsibility to the larger society of which the businessman is a part.

Our honoree, the son of Mrs. Irene Jaffe and the late Mr. Morris Jaffe, received his early education at Central Catholic and Jefferson High Schools. He attended St. Mary's University from 1940 to 1942. Then, after a short stay at Texas A. and M., he joined the U.S. Army Air Corps during World War II, where he served as a pilot assigned to the flight test section of the 2d Air Force; his continued interest in flying dates back to these early experiences.

In 1947 he married Jeanette Herrmann, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Albert Herrmann. The Jaffes have six attractive children, whose daily adventures in growing up contribute to an exciting home life.

In 1946 Mr. Jaffe entered the highly competitive business of real estate development and homebuilding in San Antonio. To this, in partnership with David P. Martin, he added commercial construction. Interest in oil followed, both wells and production. In 1955 his discovery of uranium in Karnes County stirred national interest.

Subsequently he associated himself with the Fed-Mart stores of California and became active in expanding the corporation in the Southwest. In partnership with Roger L. Zeller, he purchased control of Columbia Industries and moved the national manufacturing center to San Antonio. At the same time he served as chairman of the Dixie Form & Steel Co. which supplies steel forms to construction firms throughout the world.

Morris Jaffe's managerial ability was recognized when a Federal judge of the western

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district of Texas approved his plans to reorganize a west Texas empire which had failed financially under previous management. When rebuilt, reorganized, and reconstituted, the American Grain Corp. came into existence with Mr. Jaffe, chairman of the board. Demonstrating a capacity for adaptation, he disassociated himself from the Fed-Mart Corp. and assumed the responsibility of serving as chairman of the board of the First Financial Life Insurance Co.

While carrying on these multiple activities, Morris Jaffe, firmly committed to the proposition that citizens must concern themselves continuously with affairs of government, gave of his time, his energy, and his financial support to the promotion of good government on all levels. A lifelong Democrat he continues to involve himself in political affairs.

Complex business enterprises depend on the services of many individuals of varied talents, and Mr. Jaffe has surrounded himself with able assistants who contribute their skill and technical knowledge to his diversified operations. His appreciation of the value of the well educated man in business has led directly to his interest in higher education. In 1955 he accepted an invitation to serve as a member of the board of governors of St. Mary's University and more recently he was elected president of the educational foundation of St. Mary's University, where he now directs the activities associated with the planning and future growth of the university.

His gracious wife Jeannette continuously assists and often represents Morris by giving freely of her time and talents to various civic and charitable organizations. She is the founder of the Santa Rosa Children's Hospital Foundation. Assisted by Father John Lazarsky, she organized its activities and to this day has served uninterruptedly as its vice president. She has been president of the Carmelite Day Nursery, member of the local Catholic Welfare Bureau, the Visiting Nurses Association, the State board of mental health, and the State Heart Association. She has served on the White House Conference on Children and Youth.

With an easy and gracious charm the Jaffes use their spacious, tastefully decorated home for a variety of social functions which supplement their business activities and enhance the San Antonio social scene. Local dignitaries, State, and national governmental officials have been formally received on numerous occasions. Their home is often the scene of style shows, charitable teas, art festivals. Groups frequently assemble in the Jaffe home to plan their activities and raise funds in support of various causes. Jeannette Jaffe, encouraged and financially supported by Morris in all these undertakings, is the ever-gracious hostess, lending charm and distinction to all gatherings. In recognition of her contribution to the social and civic life of the city she was recently honored with the title, "Hostess of the Year."

The extensive and varied interests of Mr. Jaffe have left an imprint on a large segment of society. His activities as a home-builder have improved living conditions in various sections of the city and surrounding areas. He is to be counted among those distinguished leaders in the business world who believe that generous salaries not only serve the cause of social justice but likewise stimulate the economy for the benefit of all. His philosophy is simple and unadorned: he believes that the purpose of life is to be useful, to be honorable. It is to be compassionate. It is to matter. It is to contribute one's talents to the betterment of a changing world.

For outstanding services to his city, State, and surrounding areas, for stimulating the economy in which many share, for his political activity in behalf of worthy causes, for his generous support of charitable and hu-

manitarian work in which his charming wife assists him, and for his continued interest in the growth and development of St. Mary's University, it is my distinct privilege and honor Very Reverend President, to recommend for the degree of doctor of laws, honoris causa, Morris Douglas Jaffe.

Done at St. Mary's University, this 30th day of May 1965, A.D., by Dr. Joseph W. Schmitz, S.M., vice president, dean of faculties.

TEXAS PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE COMMITTEE

(Mr. GONZALEZ (at the request of Mr. MACKAY) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, the Texas Partners of the Alliance Committee was launched in San Antonio just over a year ago. On June 17, last year, at a banquet attended by Ambassador Celso Pastor and a host of Texans from throughout the State, the partnership between Texas and Peru was set in motion. In the year that has followed, the partnership has developed at a rapid pace. The people of Texas, represented by a great variety of groups and organizations, have responded with such enthusiasm that the Texas program is often cited as the most productive and wide in scope of all those in the 26 U.S. States now working with 12 Latin American Republics.

Much of this dramatic growth and activity within the private sector in Texas can be assigned to the imagination and drive and energy of Mr. Edward Marcus, the chairman of the Texas Partners. Mr. Marcus was the choice of the delegates to serve as the permanent chairman of the First Inter-American Partners of the Alliance Conference held in Washington, D.C., last month, attended by 58 representatives from Latin America and 95 delegates representing U.S. Partners.

An article in the Washington News of June 30 aptly entitled "New Program Quietly Wins Latin Praise," by Virginia Prewett, reflects the acceptance of the Partners concept by our neighbors in the hemisphere, and signals an additional approach toward better relations among all peoples concerned with mutual helpfulness.

Mr. Speaker, I include the article in the RECORD and commend it to all the Members of the House:

[From the Washington News, June 30, 1965]
NEW PROGRAM QUIETLY WINS LATIN PRAISE
(By Virginia Prewett)

We are so accustomed to hearing the loud and angry voices of Latin America, often those of propagandists and politicians, that we almost miss the quiet ones. Today throughout 11 countries, Latin Americans without any dramatics, are telling their countrymen about the success of a new program called the Partners of the Alliance.

Under this officially sponsored program, 28 U.S. States have organized committees to work with State or National committees in Latin America. The American groups are hard at work on specific Latin American problems.

Doubters and scoffers who would like to believe the American people are not interested in Latin America and not sympathetic

to their anxiety for better conditions of life should take a look at the names on the U.S. State committees.

HAVE KNOW-HOW

They are made up of our most serious and effective citizens, representing many walks of life. Nearly every name on the long lists has a title or office that represents achievement.

These Americans are investing their knowledge, their energy, and their influence in helping Latin Americans help themselves.

Alabama is working with Guatemala, Arizona with El Salvador, Colorado, a mining State, with Brazil's great mining State, Minas Gerais. Little Delaware is cooperating with little Panama, Idaho with Ecuador, Michigan with Colombia's Cauca Valley, Texas with Peru * * * and so on down to Wyoming, teamed with the State of Golas, Brazil.

The local news stories in Latin America that are spreading the word about these activities are not scare-head articles. But they are many.

HEADLINES

When a group of Texans traveled down to Lima, Peru, to spur activities, Lima's La Tribuna, organ of the mass party, APRA, titled the story: "Texans Study Peruvian Realities." Lima's Comercio Grafico headlined: "Texas 'Associates' of Peru Arrive."

Lima's La Prensa reported how the Texas visitors met with Peru's free labor leaders. Lima's Ultima Hora published a box with the head: "Texas Gringos Come To Lend a Hand."

The Voice of Tarma is a small-town paper whose type is still set by hand. The secretary of the Central Peruvian Farm Workers Federation, while on a visit to the United States under the Alliance program, wrote a letter to the Voice in which he said "Americans have made a great nation by sinking political differences in a common cause." He advised Peruvians to do the same.

Similar reports are multiplying throughout Latin America as the partners in progress activities bear fruit. They are a powerful antidote against the Communist propaganda that constantly hammers away at Latin American minds.

Joe Pool
ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE JOE R. POOL AT OAK CLIFF JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, DALLAS, TEX.

(Mr. UDALL (at the request of Mr. MACKAY) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, today I should like to introduce into the RECORD a speech delivered by my colleague, the Honorable Joe Pool, Representative at Large from the State of Texas. He delivered this address in Dallas, Tex., at the Oak Cliff Junior Chamber of Commerce annual Fourth of July picnic. The occasion was particularly timely, for this speech indicates Mr. Pool's strong support of the President's policy in Vietnam and explains how vital the present program is for the cause of freedom throughout the world:

FOURTH OF JULY PICNIC, OAK CLIFF JAYCEES, DALLAS, KIEST PARK

Today, we celebrate, for the 189th time, the birthday of this great Nation—the festival of independence—the commemoration of the notion that every people has a right to live under a government of its own choice, to make its own mistakes, and achieve its

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own triumphs, free from dictation from outside.

The Fourth of July has been celebrated in a great many places, and under broadly varying conditions. It has been celebrated in quiet, prosperous times, when the very thought of war was far from everyone's mind. It has been celebrated in dangerous hours. Texans and Minnesotans alike celebrated—and I think they both honored the day in their own way—on the bloody slopes of Cemetery Ridge in Gettysburg, a hundred years ago. We celebrated the Fourth of July in the hedgerows of Normandy, 21 years ago. We celebrated it in the mountainsides of Korea 15 years ago. And Americans will be celebrating the Fourth of July in the jungles of Vietnam this year. At each of those Independence Day observations, the cost of independence was underscored by the deaths of Americans in its service. The same could happen again this year.

What moral can we draw from all this? Do we shrug our shoulders and indicate that death does not concern us, and that these wars in far-off places are not as important as the cost of gasoline and the problem of getting a ticket to the ball game? I do not think so.

Do we say, as a great many Americans today are saying, that the continuing fact of war shows that all our past struggles have been in vain? Do we repeat the old clichés about war never settling anything, and utter profound sentences about how ironic it is that people are still dying? This, I think, would be even more superficial and even more shortsighted.

War, to be sure, is usually a demonstration that there has been a failure somewhere, on someone's part. But war does settle things. World War II is a case in point. Now, 20 years after V-E Day, we are told that World War II was somehow "fought in vain" because it didn't settle all international questions forever. Well, I don't know of any responsible person who thought it would. But before we say World War II settled nothing, I suggest we ask Hitler and Goering and Himmler whether it did or not. It settled, once and for all, the question of the Nazi threat to liberty. And let no one think that that was an empty threat. The Nazis were in dead earnest when they sang the marching song of their party, the chorus of which ended, "Today, Germany is ours. Tomorrow, the whole world." This is that tomorrow, and neither the whole world nor Germany is theirs. That much—and it is no small matter—was settled by World War II.

And one other, perhaps even greater matter, was settled in World War II. From that war, and from the tragic events that led up to it, the world discovered a great truth—that freedom cannot be defended by pretending it is not threatened—that aggression cannot change its nature by calling itself something else—that the liberty of each nation is inescapably bound up with the liberty of every other nation. We were told, 30 years ago, that we could not stand aside and watch small nations swallowed up by aggressors. We heard this, and we heeded it not. We stood aside. The small nations were swallowed up, and eventually the aggressor made his intentions unmistakable—at Pearl Harbor. We stopped the aggressor, but at a cost many times higher than it might have cost had we acted earlier.

That mistake we have had burned into our minds, and that mistake we are not going to make again. And the degree to which we have learned that lesson is being tested today in the swamps and city streets of Vietnam. Freedom's hardest lesson is being tried on that most distant and uncomfortable of freedom's frontiers.

"What are we doing in Vietnam?" "Why are we there, and what do we hope to get out of it?" "Can war in Vietnam really settle anything?" These and similar questions

are being asked on all sides. The answers have been written in American blood on every continent, and they deserve to be repeated today.

We are in Vietnam because the Vietnamese people and their Government have asked us for our help in their effort to preserve their independence. I say "their effort" because it is the Vietnamese people who have borne the brunt of this cruel war, and it is the Vietnamese people who are the major targets of the aggression which Hanoi and Peiping have unleashed upon that country. This is not a civil war, in which two groups of South Vietnamese are merely struggling for control of a government. It is aggression pure and simple. It is aggression, planned in the north, directed from the north, supplied from the north, and carried on by thousands of soldiers who have infiltrated from the north. You can hear this aggression described as "the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism." Well, the statistics show that the Vietcong have directed their killings and their terrorism largely against innocent, unarmed civilian men and women and children in the villages of the South Vietnamese countryside. The Americans, even the South Vietnamese Army, are not the chief target. It is by killing and kidnapping civilians that these aggressors are trying to cow the people of South Vietnam into submission.

Aggression? When thousands of North Koreans marched in full battle array over the borders of South Korea, there was no doubt that this was aggression. And the world reacted to it, and stopped it. When Nazi tanks roared into the low countries in May 1940 the world knew aggression was taking place. In Vietnam the only difference is in the time scale, and the visibility of the aggressors. They infiltrate across the borders, through back trails in small numbers, carrying simple weapons. They rest and reform their ranks in the back country, and they commit their depredations when it best suits them. This is sophisticated aggression in the tactical sense, unsophisticated in the technological sense, but it is aggression in any sense.

General Giap, the leader of the North Vietnamese Army has said, quite bluntly, that "South Vietnam is the model of the national liberation movement of our time. . . . If the special warfare that the U.S. imperialists are testing in South Vietnam is overcome, then it can be defeated everywhere in the world." Let me repeat—"everywhere in the world"—were General Giap's words.

There is the challenge of the 1930's again. If aggression can succeed in South Vietnam, it can succeed everywhere in the world according to General Giap. And history has an unfortunate tendency to confirm his view. If we do not have the will to resist in South Vietnam, if we find South Vietnam too uncomfortable or too confusing or too far away, and if we lose our will to help these courageous people to help themselves, then the next challenge—which will come as sure as the sun rises—will be just as uncomfortable, just as confusing. But it may not be as far away.

Lyndon Johnson has given the answer to those who predict that we cannot stay the course in South Vietnam. And he has, at the same time, given the answer to those who wonder what our goals are out there. "We combine" the President said, "unlimited patience with unlimited resources in pursuit of an unwavering objective. We will not abandon our commitment to South Vietnam."

We will discuss the Vietnamese situation with any government that wants to discuss it and is willing to help end the aggression there. The President has made that perfectly clear. But we will not engage in negotiations as a cloak for surrender.

The dream which we have for South Viet-

nam—and which men of good will everywhere share, is a dream of a land whose people are allowed to live in peace and to use their rich resources, with our help, with the help of any nation that wishes to help, to meet the economic challenges that confront them.

Let me again quote Lyndon Johnson:

"This war, like most wars, is filled with terrible irony. For what do the people of North Vietnam want? They want what their neighbors also desire—food for their hunger, health for their bodies, a chance to learn, progress for their country, and an end to the bondage of material misery." And they would find all these things far more readily in peaceful association with others than in the endless course of battle."

This is the promise that peace holds out to the people of North Vietnam. This is the choice which they can make. This is the alternative to war which this country stands ready to offer if only the aggressors will stop their aggression.

But if the aggression continues, America will continue to work with the people of South Vietnam to stop it, to punish it, and to show that it will not work.

And that aggression will not work is the second great lesson which the world learned in World War II. We learned that it must be stopped, and that the cost of stopping it increases at a greater rate as each day goes by. We have not forgotten that lesson. But the world learned, too, that aggression can be stopped—that ordinary men and women will make extraordinary sacrifices to stop it—that the force of independence and freedom has not yet lost the momentum which it gained on that Independence Day 189 years ago. If Hanoi and Peiping have forgotten that lesson, they are in for a shocking surprise."

In spite of debate, in spite of discussion and dissent—and 99 percent of that debate and discussion and dissent is the perfectly health demonstration of the fact that we still are a free people—in spite of it all the American people are united behind the President of the United States in his determination to let aggression come no further. The leaders in Hanoi and Peiping who think that an occasional speech critical of some detail of the administration's policy, or as occasional picket line in front of the White House means that the American people are tired of defending their own interests in southeast Asia simply do not understand Americans—or free men everywhere. Of course we complain. Of course, we offer unsolicited advice. Of course we freely tell our highest officials what we think they ought to do. That is the way free men do things. For nearly two centuries, the forces of tyranny have looked upon the splendid disarray of American life and have thought that Americans don't march well.

They don't when compared to the iron disciplined troops of authoritarian countries. But for that same period of time, armies from those of King George III to those of Adolf Hitler have been discovering to their surprise that these disorderly Americans can shoot straighter than they can march. I have a word of advice for Hanoi—typical, American, unsolicited advice. Don't mistake us. We argue among ourselves and we enjoy it. Sometimes we argue and fight among ourselves when we don't really have anything else to do. But, General Giap, tear yourself away from your dreams of "tomorrow, everywhere in the world" for long enough to think of this: Free men can criticize their leaders, and their leaders can profit from it. But free men can defend the system under which they live just as vigorously and because they can criticize it and try to improve it.

Some 189 years ago, on the first Fourth of July, in some parts of the infant Nation, a flag was flown, showing the new country as a

rattlesnake, carrying a slogan, "Don't tread on me."

On this Fourth of July, we carry in our hearts—and on our sleeves for General Giap to read the slogan, "Don't tread on man."

So today, as we have been doing for 189 years, we renew our commitment to the ideal of independence and freedom. We once again tell those who think they can make aggression profitable that we will not have it so; that we are prepared to discuss without conditions, an honorable settlement which preserves the freedom and independence of the people of South Vietnam; and we are also prepared to do whatever we must to meet whatever challenge is hurled at us or at them. And, again in the words of Lyndon Johnson:

"We may well be living in the time foretold many years ago when it was said: 'I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live.'"

"This generation of the world must choose: destroy or build, kill or aid, hate or understand."

"We can do all these things on a scale that has never been dreamed of before."

"Well, we will choose life. And so doing, we will prevail over the enemies within man, and over the natural enemies of all mankind."

TEACHER FELLOWSHIPS

(Mr. GILLIGAN (at the request of Mr. MACKAY) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, the bill which the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS] introduced on July 6, H.R. 9627, to award fellowships to elementary and secondary teachers and those persons whose professional roles are related to the process of elementary and secondary schools, has, with but one minor exception, my full and enthusiastic support. I have read and considered this bill very carefully, and I find in it those things which command my praise and endorsement.

This bill is simple, short, and directed to the single and exceedingly important task of improving the quality of education in elementary and secondary schools. Approval of the bill by the Congress will surely prove to be a most worthwhile investment.

It has been stated repeatedly that there is a desperately growing need for more elementary and secondary school-teachers despite the efforts to meet this need under such programs as provided by the National Defense Education Act. H.R. 9627 complements these programs by making eligible for fellowships teachers, prospective teachers, and those persons who wish to return to teaching on the elementary and secondary levels, and others in related work. But equally important is the increasingly urgent need for better trained teachers. The conventional training most teachers have received, and which was commonly believed to be adequate, is by today's standards grossly inferior in view of the shattering developments of recent years in both the content of subject matter and instructional techniques. If our teach-

ers, who are in many ways the pack-mules of our civilization, are to translate the advances being made in nearly every area of learning for the benefit of their students, the exhortations for teachers to update and strengthen their skills must be backed by sharply focused efforts to furnish them with the means to do so. This bill does just that.

The National Teacher Fellowship Act also complements the recently enacted Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. In that legislation, for example, there are provisions for the establishment and operation of educational research centers around the country and for the dissemination of the research findings and their adaptation to classroom use. By providing for financial assistance through fellowships to permit teachers to return to school on a full-time basis we can be sure that these purposes and objectives will be realized more fully and quickly.

Most teachers, Mr. Speaker, are deeply dedicated to the indescribably important tasks they perform, and this Nation has oftentimes abused that dedication by expecting teachers to subsidize the schools by paying out of their own pockets, which under the best of circumstances are none too full, the cost of further developing and sharpening their professional skills, and thus improving the quality of education. This bill, like others already made law, recognizes the fact that this should not be.

There is, however, one feature of the bill which I would like to see changed somewhat: More teachers than Mr. BRADEMAS proposes should be awarded fellowships, and correspondingly more administrators, social workers, librarians, counselors, media experts, and the others who would be eligible. I would like to see the proposed number doubled or tripled. But most of all, I would like to see this bill pass.

THE LATE MOSHE SHARETT

(Mr. SCHEUER (at the request of Mr. MACKAY) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, I would like formally to call the attention of this body to the loss of a great world leader. Moshe Sharett, Prime Minister of Israel from 1953-1956 died in Jerusalem on July 7.

Mr. Sharett's death is mourned by all friends of Israel as well as by all lovers of peace around the world. Moshe Sharett was a humanitarian as well as a statesman. Instead of inflaming relations with Israel's Arab neighbors, Prime Minister Sharett sought ways in which to ameliorate outstanding problems and forge a workable relationship.

The New York Times in an editorial yesterday stated this very well:

Throughout his long struggle Sharett never lost sight of the intimate relationship enjoined by history and geographic circumstance, between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Fluent in Arabic and proud of his friendships with Arab leaders of an earlier generation, he never gave way to bitterness

nor lost his hope of an eventual reconciliation. This affirmative spirit is part of the heritage that this extraordinary man—writer, linguist and diplomat—bequeaths to the nation he helped to found.

Mr. Speaker, I mourn the death of Moshe Sharett for personal reasons. I remember his kindness to me when I visited Israel in 1955 and 1958. I recall the gentleness of his spirit and keenness of his mind. I would like to extend my condolences to his family for their great personal loss and to the State of Israel for the loss of a great leader.

AH, WILDERNESS

(Mr. OLSEN of Montana (at the request of Mr. MACKAY) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, I think it is fitting to bring to the attention of the Members the present, and, I fear, future plight of wilderness areas, and the need to give them more protection and to create more of them for the enjoyment of our fellow Americans, present and future:

TRAFFIC LIGHTS NEEDED IN OREGON WILDERNESS AREA?

(By Matt Kramer)

EUGENE, OREG.—If pavement, engines, and people are beginning to wear you down, there is always the wilderness areas of the far West for a refresher.

Or is there?

Go into a place like the Three Sisters wilderness area in the high Oregon Cascade Range and what do you find?

"More than 16,000 people were there last year," says Larry Worstell, deputy supervisor of the Willamette National Forest.

Nor was this an isolated example. More than 86,000 persons last year entered the 12 wilderness areas set aside in Oregon and Washington. The problem is even worse in some other places.

"Wilderness use is increasing to the point that it's a problem for both the people who go to those areas for some degree of privacy, and for those of us responsible for maintenance of wilderness environment," Worstell says.

And this in the areas set aside presumably to preserve the wilderness for all time. In these areas there may be no roads or motors or hardly any evidence of civilization; man may visit them but not stay.

Already they are talking about registration so that hikers can keep from trampling each other.

In areas where man goes to amuse himself, away from regulation, more regulation may be necessary.

Part of the problem is that much of the wilderness area is in high elevations. It is easy to ruin the beauty there. Grass cannot stand much foot traffic. A mountain meadow can disappear under a group of careless people or horses. A damaged tree may take years to come back, if it comes back at all.

Worstell has drawn up a list of what the wilderness-seeker should do to preserve the wilderness and forestall regulation:

Carry out what you carry in.

Avoid trampling mountain meadows.

Build as few fire pits as possible. Use old fire pits rather than build new ones.

Carry your own horsefeed.

Don't tether stock in meadows.

Spread out camps and travel in small groups.

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tial for service performed between 6 and 9 a.m. when most people begin work.

"To get 8 hours rest, they must retire at 8:15 p.m., even before their children do. After a full day's work, they must go on to their second jobs. To make ends meet, they sap their strength, jeopardize their health, and forego the normal enjoyment of family life. Similar situations face many thousands of night workers who report between 3 and 12 p.m.

"SIX-DAY WEEK

"But unlike workers in private industry, postal employees receive no premium pay for weekend and holiday work. Instead, they are given a day off during the week, with many employees in business districts working a 6-day, 40-hour week, a condition unheard of in private industry.

"It's high time the Government paid its own employees time and one-half for Saturday work and double time for Sundays and holidays, as is almost universally the case in private industry.

"Postal employees want no less for their children than workers in outside industry. That their wage gap, however, is very great and many years behind is substantiated by congressional committees and Government boards.

"At present, the average postal worker has a dim outlook with regard to savings, education for his children in schools of higher learning, and other pressing necessities. He has little opportunity for relaxation.

"A 7-percent wage increase will help put him almost on a par with his fellow Americans. He isn't asking for the moon. He just wants to serve with selfless devotion, knowing that his Government appreciates his dedication, and recognizing his needs, pays him a salary commensurate with that in private industry.

"Postal and Federal employees eschew the right to strike. It is fitting and proper, then, that the just needs of these faithful servants be recognized and met in a way that will count—in their paychecks.

"For legitimate pay comparability we seek enactment of H.R. 8663 by Representative ARNOLD OLSEN, of Montana, and for legitimate overtime pay for Saturday, Sundays, and holidays for substitutes we seek enactment of H.R. 2798 by Representative DOMINICK DANIELS, of Jersey City."

Gertrude Clarke Whittall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OMAR BURLESON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, in my years of service in the Congress, my responsibilities as chairman of the Committee on House Administration and as chairman and vice chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library perhaps have made me a bit more keenly aware than some of my distinguished colleagues of the great contribution to our country's culture made by a great lady, Gertrude Clarke Whittall, who died at the age of 97 on Tuesday, June 29, 1965. I therefore feel it is most appropriate for me to pay tribute to this extraordinary person, whose good works will continue as long as the Library of Congress continues to exist, thanks to the foundations bearing her name which she established during her lifetime.

The record of Mrs. Whittall's benefactions is open for all to read and admire, but a brief summary may be in order at this time. Her gifts to the Nation and its citizens through the Library of Congress began, publicly, in 1935, shortly after she had moved to Washington from Massachusetts. Widowed in 1922, she had two great loves that sustained her spirit—music and poetry. Before leaving New England, she had carefully formed, with the help of experts, a collection of musical instruments which is one of the world's most precious possessions—three violins, one viola, and one violoncello constructed by that fabled master, Antonio Stradivari, with five magnificent bows to match, constructed by the Stradivari of bowmaking, François Tourte.

The late Herbert Putnam, then the Librarian of Congress, was one of Mrs. Whittall's close friends. As Mrs. Whittall herself once put it, "Dr. Putnam was my inspiration." He encouraged her to present these wonderful instruments to the Library of Congress, where they might be perfectly preserved and maintained. But since the Library is not a museum, and since musical instruments such as those assembled by Mrs. Whittall only come to life when they are heard as well as seen, he also encouraged her to allow them to be used in concerts for the benefit of the American people. Mrs. Whittall needed no more than the suggestion—indeed, she needed no more than Dr. Putnam's inspiration, since it may well be that the wonderful idea was her very own. Thus, in 1935, she did indeed present the Stradivari instruments and Tourte bows to the Library of Congress, where they were to be used—at her express wish—to provide free public concerts of chamber music to all who would hear; simultaneously, she established the Gertrude Clarke Whittall Foundation to assure the perpetuation of these activities. The first public concert in which her wishes were executed took place in the Library on January 10, 1936, with the Stradivari instruments used—appropriately enough—by the famed Stradivarius Quartet.

It was quite characteristic of Mrs. Whittall to donate a room to the Library in which the instruments could be beautifully displayed when they were not being played, and in 1937, the Whittall Pavilion—one of the Library's most handsome settings for cultural events, was completed. Ever since then it has been used as the home, and thousands of Americans and visitors to our country have paused before the case in which they are housed in order to admire their beauty and to speculate on the magic a master craftsman had wrought more than two centuries earlier.

Mrs. Whittall preferred the continuous use of the Stradivari instruments by one group of musicians—a wise choice, since only in that manner could the individual instrument be adjusted to the needs and temperament of each artist, and only in that manner could the individual artist adjust himself to the needs and temperament of each instrument. The two must live together in order to make the finest music, she felt. As a result of this thought, the Library of

Congress acquired a "quartet in residence, the Budapest String Quartet—one of the world's great chamber ensembles—which played its first concert on December 8, 1938, and continued to use the Stradivari instruments for 23 seasons—until March 30, 1962. Beginning with the 1962-63 season, the renowned Juilliard String Quartet started to use the Strads, and they have been the Library's resident group ever since.

As further evidence of Mrs. Whittall's generosity, many additional ensembles and distinguished soloists were presented under the auspices of the music foundation bearing her name. Up to the time of her death, nearly 700 concerts had been offered by the Whittall Foundation, many of them broadcast, and countless thousands enjoyed the pleasure that the combination of great virtuosity and great music alone can bring.

Over the years, Mrs. Whittall continued to enlarge the foundation's endowment, and at the outbreak of the Second World War, she made it possible for the Library to purchase a superb collection of autograph musical scores, privately owned by a Vietnamese family, for which a home safe from the hazards of destruction in Europe was being sought. This was the nucleus of what has since become one of the world's most awe-inspiring collection of original manuscripts—the Whittall Foundation Collection of Autograph Musical Scores and Autograph Letters—which includes music and letters by Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Haydn, Mozart, Mendelssohn, Schubert, and many, many others.

Poetry and music had an equal share of Mrs. Whittall's affection, and in 1950, she provided the Library with the resources whereby the public could enjoy the sister art in the same way as she had provided the resources for our citizens to enjoy music. Through the Gertrude Clarke Whittall Poetry and Literature Fund in the Library, she made it possible for listeners to hear our best poets reading their own poems, our best actors interpreting the master dramatists, and our finest minds lecturing on literary subjects. She furnished the Library's attractive Poetry Room—where her good friend, the late Robert Frost, liked to meet his friends and view the Capitol; she made it possible for the Library to acquire manuscripts of such poets as Shelley, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, A. E. Housman, and—one of her favorites—Edwin Arlington Robinson.

Although advancing years robbed her hearing of much of its acuteness, she continued to attend almost every Whittall Fund presentation, and her tiny, gracious figure, in her regular seat specially wired with a hearing aid, was a familiar and beloved one to generations of Washingtonians. She was in the audience—and at the reception honoring playwright and cast—when Mark Van Doren's "The Last Days of Lincoln" played on April 12, 1965; she was in the audience when the Juilliard String Quartet gave its last concert of the 1964-65 season last April 23. She was aregarious person, who freely shared her own enjoyment of the arts with the rest of the audience, and especially with young people, whose presence continually

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delighted her. She was a frequent visitor to the Library's Music Division and its Poetry Office, and she took a deep and genuine interest in its work. She was as much a part of the Library of Congress as anyone possibly could be, and in many ways, her ideal of service to the country she loved is a personification of the Library's own ideal of service.

On December 4, 1963, the Commissioners of the District of Columbia honored her with a citation for distinguished service. This was presented by Commissioner Walter B. Tobriner in a ceremony in his office. The citation stated that "her gifts of music and literature to the people of the United States, through the Library of Congress, have brought the arts into the lives of many Americans; have enriched the Library's collections and extended its influence; and have given the American people great pleasures and pleasant experiences." It would be difficult to improve on this succinct tribute, and I shall not attempt to do so.

At the ceremony, Mrs. Whittall—young in heart as ever—complained mildly about the timing of the citation. "I wonder why they didn't wait until I am 100," she said. "My work is not yet done." I am glad the Commissioners did not wait, but she need not have worried about her work. Thanks to her enlightened generosity, Mrs. Whittall's good work will never be done, and she will continue to live in the affections of the people of this country as a symbol of that civilized devotion to the things of the spirit which is as typically and characteristically American as the Nebraska farm on which she grew up. But as a person she will be missed, for she was a great person. We will not soon see another such great lady again.

A Tribute to David E. Bell, Administrator of the Agency for International Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this time to speak a few words of appreciation for David E. Bell, Administrator of the Agency for International Development. I regret that I was absent from the floor recently when a number of our colleagues paid eloquent tribute to this able Administrator.

When reminded that his tenure in office outlasted that of his predecessors, Administrator Bell retorted that he considered this a "very minor distinction" because he came to do a job and not outlast anybody.

I consider the job he has done a very major distinction in one of the most difficult and most tumultuous positions in the U.S. Government.

As Director of the Bureau of the Budget, David Bell brought with him to his

position with AID a great understanding of our Government and of our economic system. As overseer of the U.S. budget, he perhaps had a greater appreciation of economy and management efficiency than any other person in our Government, with few exceptions.

When he was sworn into office, December 22, 1962, he said:

Any enterprise of the Federal Government involving the use of public funds ought to be managed with the highest prudence and frugality.

And in the ensuing months, as head of the AID program, he made this promise a reality.

Under David Bell the foreign aid budget has been pared to essentials. This year's request was the lowest in this history of the AID program.

Not only has the AID budget decreased, but AID funds have been better spent. David Bell inaugurated a comprehensive new management improvement system in AID, including new methods for more effective execution of AID's operating and programming systems.

He has tightened personnel management, reducing the number of employees by 1,140 in fiscal year 1964 alone.

He has improved the Agency's procurement policies, thus saving the Government hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Under Administrator Bell, AID's auditing practices have been revised and overseas auditing services consolidated at great manpower and financial savings.

By adapting electronic data processing to the Agency's accounting and financial reporting requirements, David Bell has saved hundreds of man-hours and cut costs.

Country programs have been tightened and some terminated, since David Bell came to AID. A higher proportion of AID funds are going to fewer countries—95 percent is going to only 31 countries, and two-thirds of development assistance is going to just 7 countries.

Reduced budgets and program and operating costs are only a part of David Bell's major distinctions in office. But they are important ones—which have restored the confidence of Congress and the American people in the foreign aid program. And with the restoration of that confidence has come better opportunities to help the people of the developing countries around the world.

Fe On K diggs
U.S. Policy in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, the following telegram is a typical expression of the substantial concern in my district and other places around the country about our policies in Vietnam and the obvious escalation of our involvement:

DETROIT, MICH.
Congressman CHARLES C. DIGGS,
Washington, D.C.:

Applaud call for Vietnam hearings. Strongly urge you speak against McNamara announced troop buildup.

DETROIT COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR
IN VIETNAM.

A New Class To Lead the Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Lawrence Fertig, a columnist for the San Francisco Chronicle, has written an article on title II of the Economic Opportunity Act which is certainly worthy of close study by the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. His article, published in the San Francisco Chronicle on July 2, follows:

A NEW CLASS TO LEAD THE POOR

(By Lawrence Fertig)

Does it make sense for the U.S. Government to create and subsidize a special class of people who have a vested interest in being leaders of the poor? Is the public interest served when a law encourages some people to make a career of articulating the complaints, the resentments, and the demands of the so-called poverty group?

This is the crucial question raised by title II of the Economic Opportunity Act—the antipoverty law. This law provides that those who are defined as poor (family groups with incomes at \$3,000 a year or less) must have a participation in application of the law which distributes these vast funds.

There must be involvement by leaders of the poverty group, and these leaders are encouraged to promote action programs in opposition to constituted authority.

Eleven mayors of large cities recently met in Washington and expressed their deep concern about this matter. The mayor of Syracuse, N.Y., fears that the law will actually cause violence in his city at any rate.

He points out that the law is pitting the poor against everyone else. This almost amounts to a phase of class conflict which is a definite Marxian concept. It is in violation of the principles which underlie a democratic, free-enterprise society.

The originators of the Antipoverty Act were on the horns of a dilemma. They did not want expensive projects in every corner of the United States directed from Washington. On the other hand they feared a patronage grab by local politicians. So they decreed "maximum feasible participation" by poverty recipients in the administration of antipoverty funds. The result is the constitution of a new class whose roots are deep in the subsidized poverty group and whose sole objective is to wring from the Government maximum concessions for their clients.

A typical organization set up to express the involvement of the poor is mobilization for youth (MFY), whose scandals rocked New York and Washington some months ago. This group spent more than \$7.2 million for a variety of programs during the past 2 years to meet the problem of juvenile delinquency on the lower East Side of New York.

As a result of their strange activities 26 public school principals protested that MFY was making it difficult for them to teach school. They asserted that George A. Brager,

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My wife, Dorothy, and I came to Florida in 1946. We arrived with very little else except faith in our country and a wonderful family. Things were not always easy. Once, even a new home was sacrificed so that we might start our first Thirtway Store. Of course, I owe much to my family—to my mother, who taught me to study, to work hard and to build a business that was based not only on profit, but on product and service. She told me never to forget that this Nation was built upon hard-won principles of freedom and respect for my fellow man. Her faith in me was and continues to be a driving force.

Likewise, the faith in me demonstrated by other friends, such as Henry Coleman, of the Commercial Bank of Daytona Beach, resulted in my getting financing for my first business venture. My government, through your fine agency, the Small Business Administration, reaffirmed that faith. If anyone had told me 19 years ago that today I would have received this award, I would have said that life could not be this good; but faith works wonders, and here I am.

I went into the grocery business knowing, of course, that everyone had to eat. I also knew that just because they had to eat, they didn't have to buy their food from me. So, from my very first customer, Mr. Arlie Cardwell, I have endeavored to treat everyone with courtesy and to merit their faith, confidence, and support.

Many people have helped me along the way, not the least of whom was my first employee, Mrs. Iantha Metts. From that time our organization has been a team. Together we have done and hope to continue to do the job.

Through Mr. Hal Lively, a most helpful and wonderful friend, I became associated with a buying co-op in central Florida. This organization and others provide the small grocer with buying power and other services which enable him to compete with larger institutions which have their own buying organizations. Throughout all of this, I hasten to say that I have been guided by the hand of the Almighty.

The challenge that has kept America strong is a challenge to outdo ourselves—not to outdo the other fellow. There can be no enmity in competition when the goal sought is to better and outdo ones self. To accomplish this in our free enterprise system requires a willingness on our part to be bigger and better today than we were yesterday. If our free enterprise system is worth anything, it is worth continually fighting for and unless we're willing to do this, we don't deserve to have a free enterprise system.

The strength of America has flourished by reason of faith in the freemen who are willing to work hard. Thousands of businesses such as the Commercial Bank and the Certified Grocers which I mentioned before have been built upon this same faith. Over 90 percent of this Nation's business is classified as small business and many of them hire fewer than 100 people. As a small businessman, I want you to know how much I have been helped by the Small Business Administration and I hope that I have justified your faith in me. I am most grateful.

In view of the way things have been going in some quarters, however, I would not be human if I were not concerned about the future. As a father, I want to do what I can to assure that 19 years from now my children will have the opportunity to benefit from the same faith, the same challenge and the same freedom that has helped me so much. I cannot believe that the same principles that were taught in Galilee nearly 2,000 years ago have suddenly gone out of style. I can't believe that any good can come from trading freedom for security or substituting cynicism for faith. Apathy, which seems to be the byword in so many

areas today destroys independence and eliminates challenge.

America became great not because she was peopled by supermen, but because of a system that permitted ordinary people like me to achieve extraordinary things. The threat to this system is great—both from outside forces like communism, and inside forces such as complacency and indifference. This threat is the thing that concerns me. This indifference, apathy and complacency can be and often are as contagious as faith, hard work and enthusiasm. Too often they seem to be more appealing to too many people.

We must not lose our freedom by giving it away. It is not too late to turn back the tide to those principles which have been such good guidelines for me and millions of other Americans.

Mr. Foley, this letter may not seem of any consequence to you, although I believe you are interested in the same principles about which I write. However, I am going to circulate copies of this letter not only to those with whom I would like to share this moment in the sun, but also in the hope that some might read it who need to be reminded that the last four letters of the word American end in two most significant words—I can.

Sincerely,

JACK GREEN.

**Republicans Adopt Cause of NATO
Unity**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, we in the Republican Party are exceedingly proud of the superb job accomplished by our House Republican task force on NATO and the Atlantic Community under the chairmanship of our able and distinguished colleague, PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois. Since their report, which was fully reported in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 30, 1965, on pages 14758-14761, there have been a number of praiseworthy comments made by prominent foreign policy experts in this country and abroad.

I was particularly pleased to note that the Washington correspondent for the London Times, in the July 1 issue of that excellent paper, reported enthusiastically on the valuable task force conclusions.

I ask unanimous consent that the London Times article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

[From the London Times, July 1, 1965]

REPUBLICANS ADOPT CAUSE OF NATO UNITY—
STUDY GROUP URGES TALKS WITH GENERAL DE GAULLE

WASHINGTON, June 30.—The Republican Party today urged President Johnson to meet President de Gaulle in Paris and to amend the Atomic Energy Act if necessary to extend nuclear cooperation with France. The party looked back with favor upon the earlier French proposal for a NATO nuclear directorate, and proposed the establishment of a diplomatic standing group to provide greater allied participation in NATO planning.

It suggested a NATO planning conference as a first step toward full partnership in NATO. The conference would address itself

to technological research and development, military procurement, defense financing, and the making of strategic decisions.

These interesting proposals appear in the report to the House Republican conference of the party's factfinding mission on NATO. Representative PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois, was chairman of the group, which spent 9 days in Paris earlier this month.

At that time there was much good-natured banter about the Republican Party establishing diplomatic relations contrary to the Logan Act, but the group, which had the blessing of General Eisenhower, has produced a well-reasoned if provocative report. It might help in the reconstruction of the party, and certainly provides a basis for congressional debate when the administration ceases to be mesmerized by Vietnam.

TRUE PARTNERSHIP

It says that the Atlantic area is neglected, and requires immediate attention. The changes since 1949 are at the heart of American-European difficulties, and are so fundamental as to demand a thorough reappraisal of American policy.

Western European dissatisfaction arises from the present NATO structure, which makes them rely on American strategic capabilities and decision for the most basic requirements of their national security. They want a larger voice, and therefore President de Gaulle is not a lonely anachronism. He rides powerful currents of European opinion. He is the leader of the "loyal opposition," and the forces that now threaten NATO unity must first be dealt with in Gaullist terms.

True partnership is the first requirement. The European countries want to fulfill their roles both in world politics and in science and technology. Instead of viewing this development as an unfortunate challenge to American political and economic leadership, the United States should welcome it as one of the most hopeful aspects of the entire postwar period.

Fe (Om) Scott
**Organized Labor Supports Strong
Vietnam Policy**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I have been most impressed by the strong support given President Johnson's policy of firmness for freedom in Vietnam by the great majority of organized labor. They have refused to go along with the many confused voices emanating from campuses and editorial rooms around the country and, indeed, from this very Chamber, who in the name of freedom would surrender to the Red aggressors the lives of untold thousands of South Vietnamese. They are adding still another shining chapter to their long history of opposition to tyranny. An editorial published in the June issue of the Journal of the Upholsterers' International Union of America, written by their international president, Sal B. Hoffmann, points out that "organized labor has been the strongest and most solid supporter of our Government in its policy of aiding freedom wherever it was threatened, whether in Berlin, Korea, in

Approved For Release 2003/10/15 : CIA-RDP67B00446R000300180011-8

the Caribbean through Castro, in Africa, in the Congo, in British Guiana and Brazil, or in Vietnam in southeast Asia."

I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from this excellent editorial be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

WHAT SAY YOU, SELF-STYLED LIBERALS?

President Johnson these days makes no bones about the fact that in his efforts to protect our Nation and defend liberty in this period of international peril and conflict, his greatest comfort is the solid support of all organized labor, except for a few whose views are borrowed from liberalist advisers, and his greatest trial is the ceaseless and frequently quite senseless clamor from the loudest voices of campus, classroom, press, and pulpit.

It seems clear to me, from reading the record of the 84 years' history of our union since its founding in 1882, and of our 65 years of affiliation with AFL, now the AFL-CIO, that we of organized labor in the United States have won our present unique position of freedom and prosperity among the workers of the world by adherence to a couple of simple principles.

The first principle was that set forth by Samuel Gompers, 84 years ago. Gompers said that leadership of organized labor in America must be placed firmly in the hands of those into whose lives and thoughts had been woven the experience of earning their bread by daily labor.

Way back in the 1890's a radical and opinionated Columbia University professor, Daniel de Leon, challenged Gompers and that principle and said that labor should be led by people like himself and his little Socialist Labor Party. His hero was Karl Marx, who had died in England in 1883 after proclaiming himself the prophet of the workers of the world, although he had never done a day's manual labor or earned a living for his own family in his whole life.

Gompers won that argument in the 1890's over Daniel de Leon and his Socialists, who had set themselves up as directors of the American labor movement.

Twenty years later, a Russian corporation lawyer, Lenin, who also had never worked at his profession or earned his own living in any other way, announced that in addition to his dictatorship over the Russian worker and peasant, he was going to take over the American labor movement, which he called Mr. Gompers' rope of sand. Gompers won again, and Lenin and his would-be dictators and their agents were outlawed and their pirate crew made to walk the plank by American labor, as demanded by the UIU Journal in 1922. This lasted until some ambitious labor leaders, in a hurry for quick results, opened the gates of some unions to a Lenin-Stalin crew in 1937. When the CIO had also learned its lesson and outlawed them in 1949, it made possible the reunion of free labor of the world in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, ICFTU, internationally and in the merger of AFL and CIO nationally.

Another principle of Samuel Gompers, faithfully pursued by William Green afterwards and George Meany today, was that organized labor freely supported free enterprise and free government in time of peace and its country in time of international peril and conflict, especially strongly when it confronted totalitarian aggressors and tyrants—Hitler in World War II and Stalin and his Chinese counterparts in Korea in the 1950's.

Only when our Government interfered in a neighboring country for private and selfish interests, as in Mexico in the 1920's, or dragged its feet on its promise to grant independence to the Philippines, or sought to

appease the aggression of dictators like Mussolini or Hitler in the 1930's and Stalin in late 1940, did organized labor raise protest against and ask amendment of our country's foreign policy, the conduct of which the Constitution places in the hands of the President, whom the people elect. In both cases, American policy was modified to meet organized labor's criticism.

Since President Truman, in 1947, proclaimed his doctrine of support of Greece and Turkey and of any free people resisting the Communist aggression, which had taken over the role of Hitler after his destruction in 1945, organized labor has been the strongest and most solid supporter of our government in its policy of aiding freedom wherever it was threatened, whether in Berlin, Korea, in the Caribbean through Castro, in Africa in the Congo, in British Guiana and Brazil, or in Vietnam in southeast Asia.

When it became evident last February that the Communists, who had been turned back in their starvation blockade in Berlin and in their open military aggression in Korea, were succeeding in their new type of dirty guerrilla warfare aimed first at civilians, as perfected by the Chinese Communist Dictator Mao, President Johnson changed the ground rules which had given the Communists a privileged sanctuary and threw in American air and naval power to force them once again to truce and the peace table, as in the case of Berlin and Korea.

The Executive Council of AFL-CIO, speaking unanimously for organized labor, backed our President to the hilt. When, last month, the Communists moved in on one of the century-long series of coups, revolts and dictatorships in the Dominican Republic, next door to Castro's Russian garrisoned Cuba, and so-called rebels picked off the entire police force and fired machineguns over the heads of American women and children, President Johnson, after waiting thirty-six hours for the reluctant and slow moving OAS to act, sent in American Armed Forces to stop mass murder and bloodshed. Again, American organized labor spoke up through AFL-CIO in solid support against the false clamor of the Communists and their little Sir Echoes about "imperialist intervention," etc., etc.

But as American labor speaks with a clear and united voice in this critical and perilous hour, where have the self-styled liberals, the self-proclaimed proponents of civil and all liberty everywhere, such as Americans for Democratic Action, the clamoring students, professors, clergymen, and editors of great eastern newspapers, the commentators and columnists, been?

The sad answer is that, with all too few honorable exceptions, in this hour of peril, they have been giving their country's President and administration only criticism, contumely, contempt and organized distrust. Their voices where loudest have been raised in confused pleas for appeasement and retreat in face of a deadly and propaganda-wise foe, psychologically armed and prepared to turn this deafening and ill informed clamor to supreme advantage. They have given the enemy and his cynical propaganda the benefit of every doubt, their own country and leaders and our allies and the men on the fighting fronts, the benefit of none.

The spectacle of this shame of the intellectuals has become a recurrent incident in every international crisis our country has faced in meeting the persistent hot and cold war attack of the Communist aggressors since 1946. When I wired President Johnson our union's general executive board's strong support of his and our country's policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic in early May, text of which is to be found elsewhere in this journal, I was compelled to indict by name these strangely weak allies of ours.

There stands the record. When in 1943, in the middle of wartime, Stalin, only a short

time before the willing ally of Hitler and now only the grudging ally of the free nations, an ally who had refused, until Roosevelt gave him an ultimatum after Stalingrad, to even let the Russian people know of the flow of aid from United States and Britain, this cruel dictatorial ally of ours crudely announced that he had executed Alter and Erlich, the revered leaders of the Polish-Jewish labor movement. U.S. labor in New York held an anguished public protest.

President Johnson has learned a lesson that Gompers taught and Truman learned, that in the important struggle for freedom everywhere, the free wage earners organization is the most reliable as a group force, and the so-called intellectual the most unreliable except as an individual on his merits. It is our faith and observation that a bunch of workers facing a problem can rise to the level of the wisest and most instructed leadership present, while the intellectually privileged fall to or below the level of the poorest mind and loudest voice present.

This is some history and comment for our members and the public at this time. We voted in majority in full confidence in President Johnson last November. We are not about to fly to opposition when the going first gets rough.

Election Laws and Voter Participation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, we are currently debating in this body one of the most historic pieces of legislation to ever come before us—H.R. 6400, the voting rights bill.

One of the best arguments for this legislation is contained in the following address delivered on April 2, 1965, by Gus Tyler, assistant president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, at the National Civil Liberties Clearing House Conference held here in Washington:

REMARKS ON PROBLEM OF ELECTION LAWS AND VOTER PARTICIPATION, BY MR. GUS TYLER, ASSISTANT PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION—NATIONAL CIVIL LIBERTIES CLEARING HOUSE CONFERENCE, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 2, 1965

No American need be told the significance of the date: November 22, 1963. What happened on that date and on the 3 days immediately following it will remain deeply etched in our minds for the rest of our lives. But precisely because of the momentous and overwhelming nature of the tragedy which befell us at that time, very few Americans were aware, then or since then, of the issuance, by a committee appointed by President Kennedy, of a report which has great significance for the future of our American system of democratic government.

That report, which was originally to have been presented to President Kennedy on November 26, 1963, and which was presented instead to Lyndon Johnson a month later, deals with that most important single cog in the machinery of democracy: the voting system. The report was prepared by a group known formally as the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation. The Commission consisted of 11 men drawn from all sections of the Nation, from

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American Union. During this period, almost singlehandedly, he transformed the largely ineffectual Pan American Union into the Organization of American States, whose charter he largely wrote. Although Dr. Lleras returned to Colombia in 1954, where he proceeded to lead the battle against the entrenched dictatorship of Gen. Rojas Pinilla, his interest in hemisphere peace and prosperity remained keen. When the Alliance for Progress seemed to be faltering in 1962, the American Republics called upon Dr. Lleras to diagnose its troubles and recommend remedies.

Today, Dr. Lleras is back to his first love, journalism, as chairman of *Vision*, Latin America's largest newsmagazine. He brings to that position over three decades of intimate knowledge of Latin American political and economic developments. Hence, it is with deep respect that I read his views on Latin America's population growth and discovered that Dr. Lleras shares my concern about the effects of unbridled human reproduction on the future of the region.

In a *Vision* editorial on May 29, 1964, Dr. Lleras wrote:

"We are having plenty of trouble even now trying to develop our countries with our present population level, and the figures showing current economic growth virtually melt away when they are divided by population growth. This being the case, the steadily rising deficiencies in employment, housing, and other essential needs (such as pure water systems and public health facilities) will create a crisis of unimaginable proportions 36 years hence.

"No one with governmental responsibility, and very few without such responsibility," wrote Dr. Lleras in his editorial—"have paused to examine this problem with the intention of suggesting solutions. No one has declared that it is impossible for us to advance to 800 million human beings blindly, when there is as yet no possibility to feed them, clothe them, shelter them, take care of their sicknesses, and spare them misery."

THE OPPOSITION TO ESCALATION IN VIETNAM

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, there is some speculation that the American people, without much dissent, are prepared to accept a major American war on the Asian mainland. I do not believe that this is the case. A large portion of the American people do not believe that a major war on the Asian mainland would serve our national interests. An even larger proportion wish to preserve the right of free discussion of alternatives open to us in the Vietnam crisis. These points are made in excellent editorials written by Lewis E. Hower, and published in the *Emmett, Idaho Messenger-Index* on June 10; by Drury Brown, in the *Blackfoot, Idaho, News* of June 3; and by Lee Ester, in the *Idaho State Journal* on June 11. As Mr. Hower noted:

There is a moral right in honoring a commitment made in good faith. There is a moral right in defending a people who want to be defended. But there is no moral right in deliberately expanding a war of doubtful virtue for no other reason than that we lack the guts, the patience, and the stamina to climb the more difficult and frustrating path of peace.

I ask unanimous consent that these editorials be printed at this point in the *RECORD*.

There being no objection, the editorials are ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

[From the *Emmett (Idaho) Messenger-Index*, June 10, 1965]

ESCALATION

American troops yesterday assumed a new role in Vietnam as combatants, under certain conditions, rather than mere advisers to the Vietnamese Government troops.

And thus comes one more step in the escalation of a bloody, futile war which so far slants toward one of two unacceptable conclusions: the humiliating retreat of American force and influence, abandoning southeast Asia to Communist piracy; or the eventual destruction of 20th century civilization by the ultimate exchange of nuclear holocaust.

The United States is dabbling at changing the universally understood rules of a very risky game. We are listening too much, or else not enough to the belligerents among us who demand a military conclusion, now, to the mess in Vietnam. We lack the resolve to commit the massive, all-out military force necessary for a quick military conclusion, and we are lacking the patience, forbearance, and delicate diplomatic skills without which no real victory is possible.

Victory in Vietnam cannot possibly be anything less, or more, than a stable, strong, indigenous government able to stand on its own feet and solve its own problems.

A quick, decisive deployment of massive military force could stop the fighting—and create more insoluble problems.

But we are being neither decisive nor patient. We are dabbling in escalation.

First by extending our bombing strikes into North Vietnam, and now by assigning our troops to a combatant role, we invite and soon will experience a counterforce supported by other powerful and interested nations.

And then, it is presumed, we will meet the counterforce by necessary step by step small increments in our own commitment of force. This is the essence of escalation. It slowly accelerates until the commitment on both sides becomes irreversible. It eventually evokes the total, all-out clash, the deperate destruction of powerful nations at war.

In Vietnam, it is the United States which is changing the rules. We are adding the increments. We are escalating the war.

Vivid is the memory of a trip just a little over 2 years ago when General Smith, Director of Intelligence for our Strategic Air Command, turned the controls of his plane over to the copilot and came back in the cabin to talk through a long, starry night.

The question then was whether nuclear war could be waged in a tit-for-tat fashion. You wipe out one of our cities, so we rocket a bomb over and wipe out one of yours. The exchange goes back and forth, bomb for bomb, tit for tat, until both sides have had time to reflect upon the unbearable consequences, and both conclude that they must back down.

No, General Smith believed, that is not the way it could be. One of the most incontrovertible lessons of history is that once commitment is made in war, nations do not back down until they are clearly beaten and exhausted, unable to carry on the struggle effectively.

The first nuclear bomb flung in deliberate anger, the general concluded, is the certain signal for total full-scale response. The object in nuclear war is to wipe out every possible fraction of the enemy's capability immediately so as to diminish his nuclear response. After the first bomb, no one can afford to wait and see if there will be a second; there will be hundreds of them all at once.

Who can say what relevance this has to Vietnam?

If step-by-step escalation of our own making ultimately leads to the commitment of massive Chinese land forces on the other side, we are automatically in a war that cannot be won without nuclear weaponry on one side that is unavailable to the other. Then what? Do we incinerate Red China? Do we find out, in whatever brief moment might remain, whether Russia really would respond in kind?

Or do we tuck our tail between our legs and tell China the Pacific is hers?

There is a moral right in honoring a commitment made in good faith. There is moral right in defending a people who want to be defended. But there is no moral right in deliberately expanding a war of doubtful virtue for no other reason than that we lack the guts, the patience, and the stamina to climb the more difficult and frustrating paths of peace.

But if indeed it is essential that we must escalate the war, as the stupid duplicity of a recent white paper would have us believe, then it is suicide to do it little by little, always waiting to see if the next bomb will come from the other side.

It will.

[From the *Blackfoot (Idaho) News*, June 3, 1965]

DISSENT BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE

In these days when it appears that the foreign policy line being pursued by President Lyndon Johnson might have been taken from the 1964 campaign speeches of Senator Barry Goldwater, it might be appropriate to emphasize some of the legitimate fears aroused by this policy.

A statement of those fears, that is a case in point, was raised by the Drew Pearson report carried Wednesday morning in the *Blackfoot News*.

Pearson says that present American policy with regard to the war in Vietnam is calculated to bring us into head-on collision with the Soviet Union.

He points out that in Russia there exists the same extreme rightwing in reverse that exists in the United States.

The old Stalinists in the Soviet bureaucracy and in the Red army have the same feeling of the inevitability of war between the Soviet Union and the United States, and the sooner it is gotten to the better, that is held by the war hawks of the United States.

Conduct of foreign policy in the United States, says Pearson, and the response to it in Russia resembles that of two small boys spilling for a fight, with each piling chips on their shoulders and defying the other to knock them off.

In the background hover the missiles pointed at the cities of the Soviet Union and those pointed at the population centers of the United States.

Where can the escalation to the ultimate be reversed?

Pearson points out that our policy of bombing North Vietnam is not paying off. And reports from the battlefield verify his conclusion.

Ground fire knocked out two of our bombers yesterday. The rainy season is approaching where our overwhelming air superiority will be nullified. Meanwhile, the revolutionaries in North and South Vietnam show much more stomach for continuation of the jungle fighting than the South Vietnamese cadres of troops.

What reason do we have to feel the revolutionary urge of the masses of people in southeast Asia can be quelled?

Pearson compares the situation in southeast Asia at the present time with the situ-

ation of the North American Colonies in 1776 with regard to Great Britain.

With the success of the American Revolution, the revolutionaries of the day have in the history books become glamorized.

They appear to us to be nicer fellows than the current crop now in ferment in Asia.

The sourcebooks, however, tell another story. We don't read in the school textbooks how the Tories of that day fared at the hands of the American patriots. They fail to mention how those loyal to the establishment of King George and his law and order were murdered, tarred and feathered, saw their homes and barns go up in flames, and were finally harried out of the 13 Colonies into Canada.

There was nothing pretty about the French Revolution that toppled the old regime.

Both revolutions had the common result of overthrowing governments that had become unpopular. So now we gloss over the turmoil and pain caused the ruling order that preceded them.

The days of white supremacy and the imposition of order imposed by the white race over the two-thirds population of the world that is colored would appear to be doomed. This basic fact leads me to wonder how we get out of the mess in Vietnam.

This expression of thought may be unpopular to many who read it.

Maybe I'm wrong, but I think it should be said.

The time may be approaching when dissent from what appears to be the official and popular position will be impossible.

D.B.

[From the Idaho State Journal, June 11, 1965]

TO EXPLORE ALTERNATIVES

Many thoughtful and loyal Americans have voiced outspoken opposition to this country's policies in South Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic. While they support the President because they feel it is their duty, others harbor grave doubts about escalating the war in southeast Asia and about intervening in internal affairs of a Latin American nation, and they remain silent. Still others wholeheartedly support whatever measures are necessary in both strife-torn lands to subdue aggressive and rebellious elements, thus to protect American interests. Whatever their views, the holders of these opinions remain Americans, free to agree or disagree among themselves and free to voice their approval or disapproval of U.S. policies, all in good faith.

It is distressing, then, to hear a U.S. Senator label as "defeatists" and "appeasers" those who disagree with the policy of extending the war in Vietnam. In a speech yesterday, Senator THOMAS J. DONN, Democrat, of Connecticut, attacked a "noisy minority" that is clamoring for U.S. withdrawal. "They probably number somewhat less than 10 percent of the total population," he said. "But this minority of defeatists and appeasers, by dint of their incessant clamor, their seemingly boundless energy, their hundreds of newspaper advertisements, and the apparently limitless funds which fanaticism always generates, have had an impact that is out of all proportions to their actual numbers."

The Senator is thus implying that anyone who favors an alternative to all-out war wants to sell out our interests and those of a nation to which we have made commitments. He implies also that opponents of U.S. foreign policy want to play into Communist hands. Without doubt, there has been Communist influence in some of the "teach-ins" and the protests around the country, but the Senator from Connecticut would be hard pressed to prove that responsible voices in Congress, including that of Senator FRANK CHURCH of Idaho, and in universities and elsewhere are in the least inspired by communism.

Indeed, the teach-in movement and the debates on foreign policy may be inspired by the uneasy feeling that there is what the *New Statesman*, a British publication, calls a "vacuum of ideas" in the higher levels of U.S. policy planning. Recalling that President Kennedy "invariably consulted with a wide variety of advisers within his intourage—men skilled in the calculation, not only of the direct military and political risks, but in the effect of America's actions on the movement of opinion and the clash of ideas," the *New Statesman* contends that now, "the 'civilizing' element no longer have full access to the White House * * * Both in Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic, President Johnson and his advisers have resorted to excessive military methods because they lack the will or the ability to devise the (admittedly complex) diplomatic solutions which these problems require." As a result, the *New Statesman* noted, "the intellectual debate over the use of force in American policy has moved outside the White House and into Congress and the newspapers. It says much for the resilience of American democracy that, although the Nation is now committed to hostilities in two theaters, many Congressmen, journalists and leaders of public opinion, openly and fiercely contest the wisdom of President Johnson's actions."

While he may disagree with those who disagree with the President, Senator DONN has no cause whatever to impute unpatriotic motives to those who take issue with policy and with prevailing opinion. For the great debate is to explore and possibly to pursue alternatives, and not to sell out.—L.E.

CONTINUED DECLINE OF THE U.S. MERCHANT MARINE

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, the lead editorial in the Washington Evening Star of Tuesday, July 6, calls attention to the continued decline of the U.S. merchant marine.

The editorial points out that even with substantial Federal subsidies for ship construction costs and seamen's wages, our labor costs are pricing us out of the world market. The title of the editorial—"Killing the Golden Goose"—is particularly appropriate in this case.

Incessant wage demands and strikes in this industry will result in the virtual disappearance of American commercial shipping from the high seas. I may add, Mr. President, that this trend is not confined to the merchant marine.

Proposals before this Congress would, if adopted, in effect legislate further wage increases throughout major segments of the economy, and thus might have the effect of reducing jobs. These proposals deserve the most careful study, in view of the burden already placed on our economy to maintain stability and continued growth without inflation.

I commend this editorial, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the *Record*, for the wider distribution it deserves.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the *Record*, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star, July 6, 1965]

KILLING THE GOLDEN GOOSE

It doesn't take a great deal of acumen to perceive that the United States merchant marine is on the skids. In 1949 we had 3,421 ships in our merchant fleet. By last year

the number had declined to 2,529, despite a variety of Government subsidies in construction and operations adding up to \$380 million annually.

America, originator of some of the most admired commercial vessels in history, including the nuclear ship *Savannah*, the war-time mass-produced Victory and Liberty class ships, and the beautiful 19th century clippers, now is fifth-rate in merchantmen. Even Norway has more tons of shipping afloat.

One doesn't have to look far for the reasons. Labor costs are pricing us out of the world market, despite Federal outlays that pay 55 percent of original ship construction costs and 72 percent of a subsidized seaman's wage.

With that kind of background, one would think the seafaring unions might cast a look into the future now and then, wondering if their fierce resistance to automation and their incessant wage demands would reduce jobs even further. One would think that this would be the case. But in New York City the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association seems to be doing its best to dispel such notions.

Because of its current strike against five leading American steamship lines, departures of major passenger liners have been canceled, including that pride of the fleet, the *United States*. The 3,000 travelers with reservations are heading for foreign ships or airlines. And at least one union colleague, Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union, has pointed out that allowing these vessels to sail would have in no way hampered the strike or negotiations.

"A kick in the face," Mr. Curran calls the tieup of passenger vessels. It is worse than that, it is an outrage. With the tourist season now at its height, the scramble of these passengers to foreign carriers will not only sow ill will for future years but also will aggravate the balance-of-payments problem.

In his state of the Union message President Johnson pledged a "new policy for our merchant marine." That has yet to appear. And it becomes increasingly hard to fathom just what Uncle Sam could do in the way of new subsidies or automated ships that will rescue the merchant fleet if the intransigent seamen's unions continue to whipsaw the industry with senseless strikes.

THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT FILM "PHOTOSCENIC AMERICA"

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Stewart Udall, has again demonstrated his bias against the South, this time with the scissors, in editing the South out of the Interior Department's new film entitled "Photoscopic America." I call to the attention of Senators an article, from the *News & Courier*, of Charleston, S.C., dated July 8, 1965, and entitled "South Slighted in Tourism Film." The article points out that the film, which is designed to promote tourism in America, in accord with the President's recent plea with Americans to travel here, rather than abroad, because of the gold outflow problem, was originally 65 minutes long, and was cut to 24 minutes. A Udall aid is quoted in the story as stating it "just happened" that it was the South that wound up on the cutting-room floor.

Mr. President, many of the best tourist attractions in this country can be found in our Southland. The State of South Carolina abounds with beautiful tourist attractions, as do the States of Florida, Virginia—in fact, all of the Southern States.

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Mr. Udall went out of his way, a few years ago, to try to bar the Fouke Fur Co., of Greenville, S.C., from its long-time contract with the Interior Department for processing Alaskan sealskin furs simply because this firm decided that it would prefer to operate in Greenville, S.C., rather than in St. Louis, Mo. Thanks to the General Accounting Office, we were able to get Mr. Udall reversed on that prejudicial decision against the State of South Carolina and the South.

During the past 2 weeks, I have twice called to the attention of the Senate an attempt by Mr. Udall to try to block a private enterprise venture in South Carolina, which would bring \$700 million into the construction of a power-generating complex in an area of our State which has been tabbed by the Johnson administration as poverty stricken.

Mr. Udall keeps crying about prejudice and bias. It is time, Mr. President, that he wipe the mote out of his own eye, and try to help step up the South, rather than continue to step on the South. I ask unanimous consent that an article on this subject, from the News & Courier, and another one, from the Washington Daily News, be printed at this point in the RECORD, in my remarks.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follow:

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News & Courier, July 8, 1965]

SOUTH SLIGHTED IN TOURISM FILM
(By Roulhac Hamilton)

WASHINGTON.—President Johnson's invitation to American citizens to visit the United States apparently doesn't include the old Southland—at least not as far as Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall is concerned.

If one is to be guided by a film sponsored by the Interior Department to encourage "see America First" tourism, there isn't any South, except for a couple of places called Miami Beach and San Antonio, Tex.

The film, called "Photoscopic America," is being shown five times daily in departmental auditorium here for the specified purpose of getting people to heed the President's bidding that they stay out of Europe and see their own homeland to help cure the balance of payments.

The strip plainly bears the stamp of Udall, a former Arizona congressman who notoriously detests the South. Except for Miami Beach and San Antonio, mention of any spot south of the Mason-Dixon line is conspicuously absent in the Interior Department film.

There are shots of Niagara Falls, Death Valley, New York, Boston, Washington, Philadelphia and the Liberty Bell. The narrator takes you westward to Chicago, briefly southward to San Antonio and the Alamo, then west again to San Francisco's cable cars and Chinatown, and to Disneyland. Inexplicably, the narrator jumps across the continent to "lush Miami Beach," and then back to the Nation's northernmost and westernmost extremes, Alaska and Hawaii.

But no mention of Virginia's historic landmarks, not even George Washington's Mount Vernon, nor Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, nor Robert E. Lee's Arlington. No mention of historic Charleston, now a great naval bastion, nor of New Orleans. No mention of the beautiful and timeless Great Smokies, nor of famous Cape Hatteras, No mention of booming Atlanta, the metropolis of the South—nor of Cape Kennedy, the launching platform for the Nation's space spectacles.

Mention of Harvard, in "old and charming Boston," there is. But there is no mention of the oldest State universities—Georgia and North Carolina—nor of William & Mary, the Nation's second oldest college, nor of the College of Charleston, the oldest municipal institution of higher learning.

But there was "no intent in all" to slight the South, a Udall aid insisted. The aid plausibly explained that the film, produced by Eastman Kodak Co., originally ran 65 minutes and had to be cut to 24 minutes. It "just happened," he surmised, that it was the South which wound up on the cutting room floor.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, July 7, 1965]

ONLY MIAMI BEACH AND SAN ANTONIO: "SEE AMERICA" FILM SKIPS OVER SOUTH
(By Cordelia Ruffin)

President Johnson's invitation to American citizens to visit the U.S.A. apparently doesn't include the old Southland.

At least not if one is to be guided by a film strip produced by Eastman Kodak, sponsored by the Interior Department and being given five showings daily at the Departmental Auditorium through July and August.

The film is called "Photoscopic America," and conspicuously absent is any mention of any spot south of the Mason Dixon line, except for Miami Beach, and San Antonio, Tex.

The film opens with shots of some of America's scenic wonders—Niagara Falls, Death Valley—and then moves to New York. From there the narrator takes us to "old and charming Boston," then Washington, "nerve center" of America, and Philadelphia and the Liberty Bell, "reminder of our heritage". The narrator then veers westward to "Carl Sandburg's Chicago * * * hog butcher of the world." He steers briefly southward to San Antonio and the Alamo, and then west again to San Francisco, its cable cars and Chinatown, Disneyland, and back east to "lush Miami." We wind up with a trip to Alaska and Hawaii.

No mention of Virginia and its historic landmarks, Williamsburg and Jamestown. Not even Mount Vernon. No mention of Jefferson's beautiful Monticello, or his University of Virginia or William & Mary, second oldest college in the land. And what about Civil War battlefields—Manassas and Bull Run?

What about Charleston and New Orleans and the Great Smokies?

There was "no intent at all" to slight the South, a surprised Interior Department aid said, when the subject came up. The film, originally 65 minutes long, had to be cut to 24 minutes, and lots of cities got left out, he said.

A representative of the Virginia State Travel Association here seemed mildly put out when she heard about it. There were more Virginians at the "See America first" promotion meetings than any other Americans, she said. Her association has a 15-minute film on Virginia and her suggestion was to use it to "supplement" Photoscopic America.

"Everybody knows Williamsburg is the main attraction in the East," she said.

One can understand the Government's reluctance to promote travel to trouble spots such as Selma, Ala., or Philadelphia, Miss. But then there's trouble everywhere. Who's in the mood for Geneva on the Lake?

BUGABOOS, BPA, AND THE FACTS

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, on the subject of the Bonneville Power Administration, misinformation seems to grow like weeds, while the facts trail behind, like a one-legged man with a rusty hoe.

Recently, the Ogden Standard-Examiner summarized in one editorial all the misinformation attempting to prove that southern Idaho should not have the access to Federal power afforded the rest of the Northwest. The editorial was cogently answered in a letter to the editor by Charles F. Luce, BPA Administrator.

In the interest of setting the record straight about a question of great importance to Idaho, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the pertinent portions of the Ogden Standard-Examiner editorial of June 6 and the letter of reply from Mr. Luce.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the editorial and the letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BONNEVILLE POWER ADMINISTRATION TRIES SOUTH IDAHO ATTACK AGAIN

During the last 7 fiscal years, the Bonneville Power Administration has shown an operating loss of more than \$67 million.

This deficit has been made up from the Public Treasury.

This means that the BPA has been subsidized by taxpayers to the tune of nearly \$10 million a year since 1958.

But has this red ink operation phased the public power advocates?

It has not. They are still pushing Congress for authority to extend the Bonneville Power empire into southeastern Idaho—an extension that would mean even more losses to be made up from more taxes.

Accordingly, we believe the people of Utah should understand the full picture—and the reasons why "cheap" power, like BPA wants to peddle in south Idaho, isn't cheap for the taxpayers that have to foot this agency's bills.

Specifically at issue is a request by BPA for \$1 million to survey and design a high-voltage powerline. It would begin at McNary Dam in Oregon and terminate at Alexander, in southeastern Idaho.

Total cost to build the line, with associated switching stations and other installations, would be \$132 million, engineers estimate.

The \$1 million request was turned down last year by the House Appropriations Committee, which suggested that BPA work out "wheeling" arrangements with private power companies instead of building its own expensive line.

Such "wheeling" contracts are already in wide usage in many sections of the country. Power generated at Flaming Gorge Dam, north of Vernal, is delivered to so-called preference customers—municipal power setups and rural electrification systems—over Utah Power & Light Co. lines for a fixed, nominal fee.

Several communities in the Golden Spike empire obtain their power supplies through such an arrangement.

But attempts by the Idaho Power Co. and Utah Power & Light Co., the private utilities operating in southern Idaho, to work out "wheeling" deals with Bonneville Power Administration have failed.

So the BPA asked Congress again this year for the \$1 million to prepare its plans on the \$132 million Oregon-Idaho line.

Hearings have been conducted in Washington by subcommittees in the House and Senate. Neither subcommittee has made a recommendation yet.

During the Senate hearing, spokesmen for both Utah Power and Idaho Power explained the difficulties in getting together with BPA on the "wheeling" arrangement.

Vice President E. A. Hunter, of Utah Power, said his company could not "accept a re-

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quirement for wheeling power to any of our industrial customers that might be taken over by Bonneville Power. We do not want to give BPA a hunting license * * *

Vice President Robert F. Ball, of Idaho Power, told the Congressman that there is "not a single unserved customer" in south Idaho.

BPA, Mr. Ball charged, was intent on "pirating" the industrial customers of the privately owned utilities by providing tax-free power that was produced and distributed at a loss.

The utility men cited a contract offered by BPA to Monsanto Chemical at Soda Springs. A huge block of power would have been delivered at a rate of 2.2 mills per kilowatt-hour, if the Government had built its lines. Private rates admittedly are higher—taxes alone paid by the companies amount to about 3 mills per kilowatt.

To charges that Monsanto could not expand without public power, the U.P. & L. spokesman cited a recent agreement which he said was favorable enough to permit the chemical firm to start construction on a new phosphate unit and plan another future expansion.

At the hearings this year and in 1964, Bonneville Power claimed the 500-mile line was needed to assure the future power needs of existing preference customers and to encourage more rapid development of the south Idaho phosphate resources.

The private companies, in turn, said they would contract with BPA to deliver all power needed by existing preference customers for the next 20 years. But they would not be bound to deliver public power to non-preference industrial users who to buy from BPA would have to discontinue service from either Idaho Power or Utah Power.

Against the \$132 million cost of the BPA line, the two utilities said they would "wheel" all the power needed by preference customers for \$1.7 million a year, averaged over the next 20 years.

BPA estimated its line construction and operating costs during those same 20 years at \$123 million—\$89 million more than under the private companies' proposal. The private utilities' plan would result in a savings equal to \$89 for every man, woman and child in Utah.

In addition, the two investor-owned utilities would be paying taxes of their own.

An extensive analysis of the background and developments of the Bonneville Power Administration's attempt to invade south Idaho has just been published by the Council of State Chambers of Commerce in Washington.

The council's research director, Eugene F. Rinta, described the proposed BPA Oregon-Idaho line as "completely unnecessary and wasteful."

We agree that it would not only duplicate private company facilities with Federal lines, but would waste economic resources through higher cost power transmission than is available through existing, taxpaying sources.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BONNEVILLE POWER ADMINISTRATION,
Portland, Oreg., June 16, 1965.
EDITOR, OGDEN STANDARD-EXAMINER,
Ogden, Utah.

DEAR SIR: Your editorial of June 6, "Bonneville Power Administration Tries South Idaho Attack Again," has just come to our attention. We believe that it contains serious errors of fact.

Briefly, these are the facts:

1. BPA does not cost the taxpayers a single penny. On the contrary, it represents a wise and prudent investment of public funds that has brought large returns in strengthening national defense, conserving resources and building the economy of the

region and the Nation. From the beginning of our operations in 1938 we have returned to the Treasury more than \$1 billion. BPA is still ahead of schedule in repaying, with interest, the Federal investment in Northwest power facilities. Our annual deficits in the past few years have not eliminated our overall surplus position.

2. We are not requesting funds for a line to southern Idaho for the purpose of serving industries. The House Appropriations Committee of Congress has specifically directed us to serve "preference customers only" in that area. We have honored this directive in all our negotiations with the Idaho and Utah power companies.

3. The estimated cost of the line is \$73 million, not \$132 million as your editorial stated.

4. We have diligently sought a wheeling agreement with the Idaho Power Co. which would eliminate the need for a Federal line to southern Idaho. Inability to reach agreement on one crucial point—that of service to future preference customers—has forced us to seek funds for a Federal line. The company insists that even if citizens of a municipality in southern Idaho by majority vote decide to acquire a municipal electric system they cannot buy power from the Federal Government. We have offered to sign the same kind of wheeling contract Utah Power & Light Co. signed about 2 years ago with the Bureau of Reclamation for wheeling upper Colorado power. That contract provided wheeling service not only for preference customers presently served by the Bureau, but future preference customers as well.

5. We have offered to build a 500,000-volt line jointly with the Idaho and Utah companies. We would build to Anaconda, Mont., where we already have a 230,000-volt line and substation. The companies would build the rest of the way into southern Idaho and lease to us about half the capacity in their section of the line. Thus there would be no Federal line in either company's service area.

6. Such a line is needed. Your editorial suggested that the proposed Federal line would duplicate private company facilities. This is not so. While we have sufficient power on our main system to meet the growing needs of the preference customers in southern Idaho, adequate transmission capacity is lacking. Either the private companies must build it, and lease capacity to us, or we must build it. The need for a 500,000-volt line in the area was further established by the Federal Power Commission's National Power Survey, participated in by all segments of the electric utility industry, including the private power companies.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES F. LUKE,
Administrator.

SUPPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS TO ABOLISH THE NATIONAL ORIGINS QUOTA SYSTEM

Mr. HART. Mr. President, the Sunday, July 4, issue of the Louisville Courier-Journal included an inspiring editorial in support of the administration's efforts finally to abolish the national origins quota system.

It was, indeed, an appropriate subject for editorializing throughout the land on our Independence Day, for we are a nation of immigrants, and it is long past the hour for this biased and narrow system to be abolished.

I am hopeful, Mr. President, that the Judiciary Committees of the two Houses

will complete their work on the bill which Representative CELLER, myself, and many of our colleagues have introduced, so that the President can sign this historic measure as one of the many outstanding accomplishments of the first session of the 89th Congress.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Louisville Courier-Journal, July 4, 1965]

HOW TO PICK NEW CITIZENS FOR AMERICA

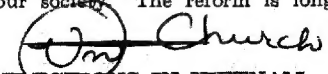
What is the best basis for admitting immigrants to the United States? Should we give preference to people simply on the grounds of the nation they come from? Or should we open the way to two special groups, those with skills that are needed in this country, and those with close relatives already living here?

The old system of national origins has been used since the immigration bill of 1924. It set quotas for each nation based on the proportion of people from that country who had already come here.

We thus assume that a man is desirable because he comes from a certain country, regardless of his other qualifications, and undesirable because he comes from another land. Quotas from Ireland, Great Britain, and Germany are never filled. Meanwhile, people from Spain, Italy, and Greece can only put their names on an endless waiting list.

The administration in Washington wants to substitute a more reasonable formula. It would use all present 158,000 quota places each year, plus perhaps 8,000 more, but apply them to people with special qualifications. Doctors, nurses, and skilled technicians in many fields would get high consideration, since they are in short supply here. Parents of people who have already migrated here would also be favored. All the present standards of health and political acceptability would still be kept.

An immigration bill is being hammered out in a committee of the House. Some of the details are still to be determined. The first principle will be, however, to get rid of the antiquated national origins system, and put in its place a system that rests on the current needs of our society. The reform is long overdue.

For  Church
FREE ELECTIONS IN VIETNAM

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, in a speech which I delivered in the Senate on June 24, I called for free elections to be held in South Vietnam. I was pleased to see that the idea of holding free elections in Vietnam was discussed in an article published in the current issue of the Saturday Evening Post. The article was written by the well-known columnist, Stewart Alsop. Mr. Alsop correctly concluded:

The risks are real. Even so, there is one very good reason for accepting them. A proposal for internationally supervised free elections in Vietnam would reaffirm the old American notion that the people of a country have a right to decide what kind of country they want to live in.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

July 9, 1965

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

15635

VIETNAM: FREE ELECTIONS?

(By Stewart Alsop)

WASHINGTON.—What would happen if really free and secret elections were held in Vietnam today? Would the Communists win?

These questions may seem academic, as the nasty little war in Vietnam gets nastier. And yet, as this is written, the possibility of proposing internationally supervised free elections, either in all of Vietnam or in South Vietnam alone, is being seriously pondered at the highest administration levels. Some such proposal may have been made even before these words are published. Or in the end nothing may come of all the pondering. But the fact that the possibility of proposing free elections is being seriously considered is significant in two ways.

It means, in the first place, that the administration policymakers really believe what they say—that the Communists, at least in South Vietnam, have the support of only a small minority of the people. In the words of William Bundy, Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East: "It is clear that . . . the great mass of people of South Vietnam do not wish to be ruled by communism or from Hanoi." Secretary of State Rusk and other administration spokesmen have said much the same thing.

It means, in the second place, that the more thoughtful policymakers are belatedly worried—and with reason—by the harsh fact that in a very important segment of the American population the Vietnamese war is the least understood and the most unpopular war of modern times.

The President likes to carry public-opinion polls in his pocket, the way another man might carry a rabbit's foot. Often he pulls the polls out of his pocket to prove the widespread public support for his Vietnamese policy. And, of course, the polls are accurate enough. The students and professors who are leading the campus revolt against the Vietnamese war are a minority even on the campus.

Yet these people, plus the off-campus liberal-intellectuals, are influential out of all proportion to their numbers. As the United States gets more deeply involved in the ugly war, their influence is likely to multiply. And it is highly significant that this liberal-intellectual-academic revolt is the first serious revolt since before the Marshall plan era against the consistent postwar American policy of containing communism. There was nothing comparable at the time of the Berlin blockade and the airlift; or the Korean war; or the second Berlin crisis and the Cuban missile crisis, in both of which President Kennedy made clear his intention to risk nuclear war if necessary.

Then why has the effort to contain communism in Vietnam aroused such a widespread and deep-rooted rebellion in liberal-intellectual-academic circles. There are various obvious reasons. Nasty little wars are never popular. There are Communists and fellow-travelers on the campuses, and there are credulous and misinformed academic dunderheads too.

But it is not enough to dismiss the angry students and professors as fellow-travelers and dunderheads. The revolt goes a lot deeper than that. No doubt Lyndon Johnson's personal style has something to do with it—the President has never cottoned to intellectual and academic types, nor they to him. And the Dominican crisis reinforced the totally inaccurate notion that the President (who is by nature more cautious than his predecessor) is an impulsive gunslinging, Texas version of Colonel Blimp.

But this does not really explain the revolt either. The real taproot of the campus revolt is this: The United States seems to be opposed to the reunification of all Vietnam,

and thus to the self-determination of small countries; and to free elections in Vietnam, and thus to democracy itself. Therefore, it is easy for the angry professors at the teach-ins to portray the Johnson administration's policy in Vietnam as a betrayal of the most basic American traditions.

In terms of the grim realities of the Vietnamese war, such matters as free voting and self-determination may be so much moonshine. But Americans—young ones, especially, and especially in foreign affairs—need a bit of moonshine, need to feel on the side of the angels. In the teach-ins the angry professors can always count on anti-administration boos when they charge the United States with conniving to prevent the free elections to unify the country, which were promised in the 1954 Geneva accords.

In fact, this is a phony debating point. Given the population balance and the areas under Communist control, a free election without adequate supervision, as proposed at Geneva by the French, would have insured Communist victory—one reason why the United States refused to become a party to the Geneva accords. The French offer was really a bribe for the Communists, to let the French off the hook in Vietnam.

Yet the fact remains that there is a sharp seeming contrast between American policy in Vietnam and traditional American foreign-policy objectives. The United States has consistently stood for free elections to unify the two other divided countries, Germany and Korea. There has never been a chance that the Communists would permit free elections in East Germany or North Korea, but at least the United States is on the side of the angels.

Obviously, this country and South Vietnam would propose elections in Vietnam only on certain conditions: a general cease-fire and a supervised end to military infiltration from North Vietnam; freedom of movement, communications, and political debate; really effective international inspection and control to insure a free and secret ballot.

No Communist state has ever risked a genuinely free political contest, for free debate strikes at the roots of "the dictatorship of the proletariat" and threatens destruction of the regime. The Communists would agree to a genuinely free election—especially with "imperialist" American troops still in the country—only if they were virtually certain they could win.

No one can guarantee that they might not win. Conditions in North Vietnam are miserable, and Bundy is no doubt right that the "great mass" of the South Vietnamese are anti-Communist. But the Vietcong in the South and the Vietminh in the North are the only disciplined political organizations in the country; and to many peasants there is no easily visible difference between a Communist and a nationalist.

The risks are real. Even so, there is one very good reason for accepting them. A proposal for internationally supervised free elections in Vietnam would reaffirm the old American notion that the people of a country have a right to decide what kind of country they want to live in.

FEDERAL FUNDS BEING WITHHELD FROM SOUTH CAROLINA MENTAL INSTITUTIONS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I call to the attention of Senators an article and also an editorial from the News & Courier, of Charleston, S.C., on the subject of cutting off Federal funds for mental hospital facilities for South Carolina. What is involved here, Mr. President, is the fact that the Depart-

ment of Health, Education, and Welfare has reversed an earlier decision, and now refuses to allocate \$700,000 to expand mental health facilities in South Carolina for adult Negro mental patients and for mentally retarded Negro children.

Mr. President, this action on the part of HEW is indicative of the lack of reason which prevails in this Department in connection with the administration of title VI of the so-called Civil Rights Act of 1964. Those of us who last year opposed that legislation made the point, at the time, that it constituted the delegation of too much authority to Federal bureaucrats who would be seeking to exploit every ounce of authority contained in the legislation.

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare officials are insisting that mental health facilities in South Carolina be completely racially integrated, even at the expense of the Negro facilities. With the State of South Carolina making every possible effort to improve these facilities, the Federal Government now comes along, and, by this action, virtually blocks these efforts at progress in providing care for Negro mental health patients.

The entire question of integration in the South constitutes an emotional and delicate matter. I would imagine, Mr. President, that it would be particularly delicate with regard to the mixing of the races among persons who are already emotionally disturbed. Here is one area which one would think should require the application of judgment and reason; but these two important elements of consideration seem to be entirely lacking in connection with the recent decisions by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD, an article from the News & Courier, of Charleston, S.C., dated July 3, 1965, and entitled "Federal Funds Withheld From Palmetto Hospital: HEW Reverses Earlier Decision"; and an editorial, from the News & Courier of the same date, entitled "Shameful Decision."

—There being no objection, the article and the editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL FUNDS WITHHELD FROM PALMETTO HOSPITAL—HEW REVERSES EARLIER DECISION

(By Hugh E. Gibson)

COLUMBIA.—The Federal Government yesterday clipped \$700,000 from funds allotted to expand State mental health facilities—the second such action in as many days.

At the same time Dr. William S. Hall, State mental health commissioner, revealed the five doctors training as psychiatrists at the South Carolina State Hospital have quit because that institution will lose its accreditation next year.

The twin setbacks came on the heels of Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) refusal Thursday to release \$77,000 for construction of a dormitory at the Pineland Training School for retarded Negro children.

Dr. Hall said the \$700,000 grant was HEW's share of a \$2.3 million medical-surgical complex already about 15 percent completed at the Palmetto State Hospital for Negro mental patients.

Notification that HEW had reversed its earlier action of approving the contract and awarding the funds came in a telephone call from Washington, Dr. Hall said. He quoted the HEW spokesman as saying a mistake had been made in awarding the contract.

Actually, the mental health commissioner said the mistake lay in the fact that the funds should not have been approved in the absence of Federal approval of Palmetto's compliance with the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

A desegregation plan is on file in Washington, Dr. Hall said, but so far none of the department of mental health facilities has been ruled in compliance.

Despite the HEW action, Dr. Hall said the State will apply for one-fourth of the \$700,000 when the Palmetto construction is 25 percent complete—late in September. He said he was hopeful that by then the integration plan will be accepted.

If HEW remains adamant, the only recourse will be to ask the legislature to make up the deficit, Dr. Hall said. He admitted, however, that this would be a "long shot."

Construction of the Pineland dormitory had not begun, but Dr. Hall revealed that 75 percent of the architect's fees—about \$27,000—must be paid.

The lost \$77,000 was to have been part of the Federal Government's \$305,000 matching contribution to build the dormitory. But the remaining \$228,000, even if obtained later, also will be denied Pineland because it has lost its top priority, Dr. Hall said.

This would force a complete revision of the plans in order to build a much smaller dormitory with the \$455,000 put up by the State to match the expected Federal grant, Dr. Hall said.

SHAMEFUL DECISION

Denial of \$77,000 in Federal funds earmarked for a dormitory to house retarded Negro children is an act of racial discrimination that ought to hang heavily on the Johnson administration. The decision was not made, we are confident, by the President himself. It is small, in comparison to the huge sums usually associated with the U.S. Government. But the principle of discrimination is there. It should be examined at the highest level.

South Carolina for years has endeavored to look after the needs of its citizens within relatively limited means. It has maintained homes for children who need the State's care. One of them is Whitten Village. Historically white children have gone there. It is always filled to overflowing, with a long waiting list. Another home is called Pineland Training School. It is crowded with retarded Negro children.

Because of pressure to mix the two—for what good purpose, we cannot imagine—the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has cancelled allotment of \$77,000 to the Negro school. The outcome is a loss for Negroes.

The complaint of discrimination due to separate homes came from an all-Negro citizens committee in Richland County. Gov. Robert E. McNair, who has been working valiantly to unravel this bureaucratic snarl, called HEW's decision a complete failure on the part of this Federal agency to comprehend a local need.

The News and Courier for years has opposed dependence on Washington for local needs. The majority in our country feels otherwise, and has voted for candidates who insist on concentrating services in the National Capital. Since national policy sends money into the States—paid for by the taxpayers—we feel justified in complaining over discrimination in handling it. If anyone needs a classic example here is one for the record. We call it a shame.

THE SINGING K'S FROM IDAHO

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, "business as usual" is hardly an appropriate phrase in Burley, Idaho, these days. Some of the most prominent businessmen of Burley have been traveling to the World's Fair as singing ambassadors from Idaho; and they came to Washington, to sing in the rotunda of the Senate Office Building at noon today.

These men are members of the Singing K's, Idaho's official representatives to the World's Fair, and one of the most popular singing groups in the Gem State. All of them are members of the Burley Kiwanis Club.

In an editorial published on June 18, the Burley Herald-Bulletin emphasized the debt Idahoans owe to all the citizens of Burley who made possible the trip of the Singing K's. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OVER THE TOP

It certainly was welcome news to the Singing K's, the Burley Kiwanis Club, and the general public when it was learned the recent barbecue staged by the popular singing group had put the drive for funds to pay expenses to New York over the top.

It was welcome news for the Singing K's because it eliminated any anxiety that a lack of funds might becloud their trip for the many engagements lined up for them at the World's Fair, Madison Square Garden, the National Capitol, and spots along the way. It was welcome news for members of the Burley Kiwanis Club because it marked the end of a long and trying campaign to raise the funds and the club can put down on its records another good job well done. And it was welcome news for the public because, while the response to each of the club's projects was most generous, the monotony was beginning to tell.

All in all, it was another typical Burley enterprise that ended in another typical bang-up victory. It was, in the first place, a tremendous project for the Singing K's—a relatively new organization—to undertake. But the opportunities of spreading the name and fame of Burley were too great to resist. The fine singing group, composed of many of the civic and business leaders of the community, will be the official Idaho ambassadors to the World's Fair. And, even if they weren't such good singers, Idaho never had better envoys.

In fact, their singing is only a part of their mission. They make a fine appearance and they will be loaded with Idaho and Burley products and brochures for distribution all through their long trip.

All of them are knowledgeable men, accustomed to meeting the public, and all of them are dyed-in-the-wool Burley and Idaho boosters.

Now that the last obstacle in the many that faced them at the outset of the project has been overcome, Burley can sit back and await the certain returns that come with success.

Moreover, Burley can sit back with a feeling of pride. During the last few months, almost everybody in the area has—in some way—contributed to this project. Once again, the community has proven that it lacks nothing in public spirit and community pride. Once again, it has faced a big community effort and once again it has proven its mettle.

The Singing K's and the Kiwanis Club de-

serve all the credit in the world for the accomplishment. But they wouldn't have been able to make it as far as Malta without the wonderful cooperation of a wonderful community.

RETIREMENT OF COMPTROLLER GENERAL JOSEPH CAMPBELL

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I find myself in full agreement with an excellent editorial, from the Washington Daily News of July 7, 1965, entitled "Blow to the Taxpayers." The editorial pays great tribute to the retiring Comptroller General of the United States, the Honorable Joseph Campbell. Mr. Campbell has served in this important position of trust and responsibility in a most distinguished, objective, and effective manner. Running the General Accounting Office is, indeed, a difficult task, and requires a man of courage and ability who does not mind "calling the shots as he sees them."

My Campbell and his coworkers at the GAO have been responsible for saving many millions of dollars for the American taxpayers, and have exposed to Congress and to the public many actions of waste, inefficiency, and corruption on the part of agencies and individuals within the executive branch of the National Government.

I particularly recall, Mr. President, a GAO investigation, which I asked Mr. Campbell to conduct, on the question of the Interior Department's award of the contract on the processing of Alaskan sealskin furs. That contract award was made by the Secretary of Interior, Mr. Stewart Udall, to a newly established corporation, which had never processed any sealskin furs, and which was finally revealed to be nothing more than a corporation on paper. Mr. Udall awarded the contract to that concern in an effort to punish the Fouke Fur Co., of Greenville, S.C., because it had moved from St. Louis, Mo., to Greenville. The Fouke Fur Co. was without any question the superior sealskin processing firm in the world, and had been doing that work for the Government for many, many years, much to the advantage of the Government.

Mr. Campbell took on the investigation, which he knew would be controversial; and he called Mr. Udall's hand, and forced him to rescind the contract award and, subsequently, to reinstitute his contractual relationship with Fouke.

Mr. President, I join the Washington Daily News in expressing the hope that the President will select another man of the dedication, character, and stature of Mr. Joseph Campbell to fill this most important position in our Government. Also, I wish for Mr. Campbell much happiness in his retirement, and extend to him best wishes for a speedy recovery from the ill health which has prompted his retirement.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed at this point in the RECORD, in my remarks.